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(Founded by Mm. Prof. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A.)



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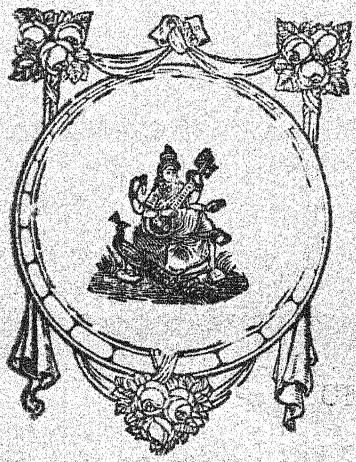
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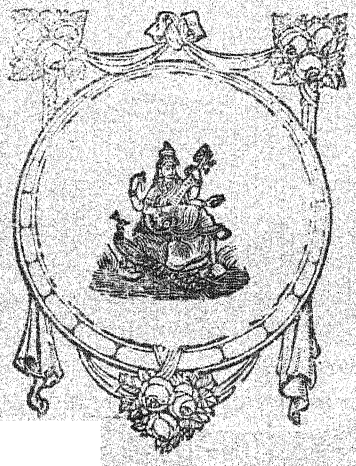
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VEDIC STUDIES: IV. *ŚUṢMA*

BY

DR. A. VENKATASUBBIAH

(*Continued from Vol. XVII, p. 204*)

Maruts. When it is quite plain to every one that the Maruts are come to the sacrifice of Agastya to receive offerings there, Indra pretends to think that they are on their way in the sky, hastening like a falcon (cp. v. 2 c: śyenāñ iva dhrajato antarikṣe) to the sacrifice of another, more favoured, sacrificer; and he even asks them maliciously: (v. 2 d): "Will you deign to tell us by what means, with what great hymn, we humble people can induce you to remain and partake of our simple sacrificial offerings?"

sanīḷāḥ 'having the same nest'=having the same abode. Geldner (RV. Über.) however interprets it as 'of equal birth'. Regarding the expression *kayā matī saṃ mimikṣuḥ*, compare 5, 58, 5: *svayā matyā marutaḥ saṃ mimikṣuḥ* 'the Maruts were joined with their own song of praise (*i.e.*, were themselves singing)'.

With *arcanti śuṣmam* in pāda d, compare *śūṣam arcati* 'sings loudly a hymn of praise' in 1, 9, 10. The reference here is to the song which the Maruts are always singing. Compare 1, 19, 4: *ya ugrā arkam ānṛcuḥ*, 'the powerful (Maruts) who sang songs'; 1, 38, 15: *vandasva mārutaṃ gaṇaṃ tveṣaṃ panasyum arkiṇam* 'worship the host of Maruts, fierce, shouting, singing'; 1, 166, 7: *arcanty arkaṃ madirasya pītaye* '(the Maruts) sing a song in order to drink the intoxicating drink'; and 1, 85, 8: *arcanto arkaṃ janayanta indriyam adhi śriyo dadhire pṛśnimātaraḥ* 'they who had Pṛśni for mother and are singing songs, making a loud sound, put on ornaments'. The last-mentioned of the above passages states not only that the Maruts sing songs, but also that they make a sound like Indra, that is, a loud sound. In other words, the Maruts sing their songs loudly, and without doubt, it is this loud sound that is referred to in 1, 37, 4 and 1, 64, 10 explained below and

and in 5, 54, 12: *svaranti ghoṣaṃ vitatam ṛtāyavaḥ* and other similar verses.

(18) 1, 165, 4: brahmāṇi me matayaḥ śaṃ sutāsaḥ
śuṣma iyarti prabhṛto me adriḥ |
ā śāsate prati haryanty ukthe-
mā harī vahatas tā no accha ||

"Pleasing to me are spells, hymns and pressed (Soma-) juices. The loud sound rises up, the pressing-stone is made ready for me. The hymns wish (for me), cherish (me); these two horses carry us to them".

The 'loud sound' mentioned in pāda *b* is evidently that made by hymns and spells, by the pressed Soma juice, and by the pressing-stones. See regarding them Vol. XVII. p. 197 above.

In pāda c, I look upon *ukthā* as a nominative, subject of *āśāsate* and *pratiharyanti*. These verbs are almost synonymous, and I understand *mām* as object after them. Compare in this connection the expression *uśatīr matayaḥ* in 10, 43, 1: *acchā ma indraṃ matayaḥ svarvidaḥ sadhrīcīr viśvā uśatīr anūṣata* 'my bright hymns that go together, longing, have all cried loudly towards Indra'; 5, 44, 14: *agnir jāgāra tam ṛcaḥ kāmayante* 'Agni has awakened; the ṛks love him'; and 10, 116, 8: *prayasvantaḥ prati haryāmasi tvā* 'we cherish thee with pleasing offerings'.

(19) 1, 64, 10: viśvavedaso rayibhiḥ samokasaḥ
sammiślāsas taviṣībhir virapśinaḥ |
astāra iṣuṃ dadhire gabhastyor
anantaśuṣmā vṛsakhādayo naraḥ ||

"The heroes, the archers, knowing all, having wealth, united with splendours, mighty, making an incessant roar, and having excellent *khādis*, carried an arrow in their hands".

This verse is addressed to the Maruts. Concerning the roar made by them, see p. 1 above. Compare also the epithets *tuviṣvaṇi* and *tuviṣvaṇas* 'noisy, making a loud sound and *stanayadamāḥ* 'of thundering speed' that are applied to them in 1, 166, 1: *aidheva yāman marutas tuviṣvaṇaḥ* 6, 48, 15: *tveṣaṃ śardho na mārutaṃ tuviṣvaṇi*; and 5, 54, 3: *stanayadamā rabhasā*

udojasaḥ. See also Bergaigne 2, 373 and Pischel's observations in Ved. St. 1, 222.

(20) 8, 20, 3: vidmā hi rudriyāṇāṃ
śuṣmam ugrammarutāṃ śimīvatām |
viṣṇor eṣasya mīlhuṣām ||

"We know well the mighty roar of Rudra's sons, the impetuous bounteous Maruts (and) of the swift Viṣṇu".

(21) 1, 37, 4: pra vaḥ śardhāya ghṛṣvaye
tveṣadyumnāya śuṣmiṇe |
devattaṃ brahma gāyata ||

"Sing the god-given song to the wild troop, fiercely valiant, roaring".

This verse is addressed to the Maruts.

(22) 1, 52, 4: a yaṃ pṛṇanti divi sadmabarhiṣaḥ
samudraṃ na subhvaḥ svā abhiṣṭayaḥ |
taṃ vṛtrahatye anu tasthur ūtayaḥ
śuṣmā indram avātā ahrutapsavaḥ ||

It is difficult to ascertain the import of this verse, owing to the fact that the nominatives contained in it are all adjectives. In the first half-verse, Sāyaṇa understands after *sadmabarhiṣaḥ* the word *somāḥ* (Soma juices) and makes it the subject of *āpṛṇanti* while *subhvaḥ* is interpreted by him as *nadyaḥ* forming the *upamāna* of *somāḥ*; *svāḥ* is, according to him, an attribute of *subhvaḥ* and *abhiṣṭayaḥ* (*ābhimukhyena gamanavatyaḥ*) of *ūtayaḥ* (*marutaḥ*) in the second half-verse. According to Grassmann (RV. Über.) and Geldner (RV. Über.) however, the subject of *āpṛṇanti* is *abhiṣṭayaḥ*, and the words *sadmabarhiṣaḥ*, *svāḥ* and *subhvaḥ* are attributes of it, while Ludwig makes *subhvaḥ* the subject and regards the other words as its attributes.

Similarly, in the second half-verse, Sāyaṇa understands the word *marutaḥ* after *ūtayaḥ* and makes it the subject of *anutasthuḥ*, while *śuṣmāḥ* (*satrūṇāṃ śoṣayitāraḥ*) is construed by him as an adjective of *marutaḥ*. Geldner, on the other hand, who interprets *śuṣmāḥ* here as 'Kräfte' (powers, forces), construes it as being in apposition to *ūtayaḥ* which he makes the subject of *anutasthuḥ*. He likewise interprets *abhiṣṭayaḥ*

also in pāda b as 'forces' and observes in his note that 'the succours and forces of Indra are personified here and represented as his lifeguardsmen'.

Oldenberg (*RV. Noten*) opines that a word meaning 'Stärke (forces, powers)' should be understood after *subhvaḥ*. He also construes *divi* with *sadmabarhiṣaḥ* and interprets the expression as 'whose *barhis* is the seat in heaven'.

Now, *subhvaḥ*, one of the adjectives in the first half of our verse occurs in the first stanza also of this hymn (1, 52): *tyaṃ su meṣaṃ mahayā svarvidaṃ śataṃ yasya subhvaḥ sākaṃ īrate | atyaṃ na vājaṃ havanasyadaṃ ratham endraṃ vavṛtyām avase suvṛktibhiḥ*. Pāda b of this stanza too has been explained differently as 'for whom a hundred helpers arise at once (Grassmann), 'with whom a hundred strong men march out at the same time' (Ludwig), 'whose hundred powers bestir themselves at the same time' (Geldner), and as *yasya indrasya śataṃ śata-saṃkhyākāḥ subhvaḥ stotāraḥ sākaṃ sahaiva yugapadeva īrate stuvanti pravartante | yad vā | yasya indrasya rathaṃ śataṃ subhvaḥ śata-saṃkhyākā aśvāḥ sākaṃ saha īrate gamayanti* (Sāyaṇa). When one bears in mind however that the expression *sākaṃ īrate* occurs again in the RV in 9, 69, 6 (*matsarāsaḥ prasupaḥ sākaṃ īrate*) which speaks of the movement of the pressed Soma juices, that the epithet *subhū* is applied to the Soma juice in 9, 79, 5: *evā ta indo subhvaṃ supeśasaṃ rasaṃ tuñjanti prathamā abhiśriyaḥ*, and that the word *śata* too is used in connection with Soma juice in 1, 30, 2: *śataṃ vā yaḥ śucīnāṃ sahasraṃ vā samāśirām | edu nimnaṃ na rīyate* "To whom a hundred streams of pure Soma juice, or a thousand of Soma juice with admixture, run, like (water) to low ground" (note the parallelism of *śataṃ rīyate* with *śataṃ īrate*[1]), it becomes plain that *subhvaḥ* in 1, 52, 1 refers to the Soma juice, and that the meaning of the stanza

1. Compare also the epithet *śatadhāra* 'having a hundred streams' that is appled to Soma in 9, 85, 4: *sahasranīthaḥ śatadhāro adbhuta indrāyenduḥ pavate;* 9, 86, 11: *abhikrandan kalaśaṃ vājy arṣati patir divaḥ śatadhāro vicakṣaṇaḥ* and 9, 96, 14,: *vṛṣṭiṃ divaḥ śatadhāraḥ pavasva*.

is: "Glorify well that goat, winner of light, to whom a hundred streams of lovely (Soma) run at the same time. With hymns of praise would I turn (towards us) for protection Indra, the chariot-fighter, who speeds like a horse racing for the prize". It also becomes equally plain that, in 1, 52, 4 too, the epithet *subhvaḥ* refers to Soma juices as opined by Sāyaṇa.

Another epithet occurring in our verse, *ūtayaḥ*, is used by the poet in two other verses of the same hymn (1, 52), to wit, in v. 5: *raghvīriva pravaṇe sasrur ūtayaḥ*, and in v. 9: *yan mā uṣapradhanā indram ūtayaḥ svar nṛṣāco maruto 'madann anu* in juxtaposition with *marutaḥ*. The epithet *ahrutapsavaḥ* too that is used in pāda d of our verse occurs in but one other stanza of the RV, namely, in 8, 20, 7: *svadhām anu śriyam naro mahi tveṣā amavanto vṛṣapsavaḥ | vahante ahrutapsavaḥ* where it is an epithet of the Maruts.

It thus becomes plain that in our verse too the epithets *ūtayaḥ* and *ahrutapsavaḥ* refer to the Maruts as opined by Sāyaṇa. I therefore translate the verse as follows:

"Whom (that has a wide capacity) like the ocean, his dear helpers, lovely (Soma juices), placed on the sacrificial straw, fill in heaven, by him, Indra, there stood, when he killed Vṛtra, his helpers (the Maruts), who were making a loud sound, were unconquered, and had uninjured bodies".

Concerning the epithet *sadmabarhiṣaḥ*, compare the epithets *barhiṣad* and *barhiṣṭhā*, both signifying 'placed on the barhis' that are applied to the Soma juices in 9, 78, 1: *madhumanta indavaḥ . . . barhiṣadaḥ* and 3, 4, 22: *madamā gahi barhiṣṭhām*. Compare also 8, 49, 3: *ā tvā sutāsa indavo madā | ya indra girvaṇaḥ | āpo nu vajrinn anv okyaṃ saraḥ pṛṇanti śūra r. dhase* "O Indra that rejoicest in praises, the juices of the pressed Soma that are intoxicating, fill thee for making gifts, O carrier of the thunder-bolt, as, O hero, the waters fill their home-lake", in which *indavaḥ* forms the subject of *āpṛṇanti*.

Samudraṃ na in pāda b is a *luptopamā*. As already pointed out above, Sāyaṇa interprets *subhvaḥ* as *nadyaḥ* and makes of it a *pūrṇopamā*; Geldner supplies a word signifying

'rivers' after *samudraṃ na* and refers to '5, 85, 6; 2, 35, 3; 3, 46, 4, etc.,' in support. It is not clear from the translations of Grassmann and Ludwig how they filled up the *upamā*. For my part, I am inclined to supply a word like *uruvyacasaṃ* after *samudraṃ na*; compare the simile *samudraṃ na . . uruvyacasam* in No. 1 explained above and the passages cited there.

Regarding *abhiṣṭayaḥ* 'helpers', compare 9, 61, 22 *sa pavasva ya āvithendraṃ vṛtrāya hantave | vavrivāṃsaṃ mahīr apaḥ* "Become clear (O Soma) that didst help Indra to kill Vṛtra who was confining the great waters" and the numerous other similar verses in which Indra is said to have killed Vṛtra with the help, or in the company, of Soma, or in the intoxication produced by drinking Soma. There are five such verses in hymn 1, 52 itself, namely, 2 (*jarhṛṣāṇo andhasā*) 3 (*madavṛddhaḥ; paprir andhasaḥ*), 5 (*made asya yudhyataḥ; dhṛṣamāṇo andhasā*), 10 (*made sutasya*), 14 (*made asya yudhyatah*).

The epithet *śuṣmāḥ* 'making a loud sound' is appropriate to the Maruts whose help to Indra, when he fought with Vṛtra, consisted principally in their loudly encouraging him by (1) singing hymns of praise, and (2) shouting other words of cheer. Compare 8, 89, 3: *pra va indrāya bṛhate maruto brahmā rcata | vṛtraṃ hanati vṛtrahā śatakratur vajreṇa śataparvaṇā.* "Sing loudly, O Maruts, a hymn to mighty Indra, so that he, that has a hundred powers, the slayer of Vṛtra, may slay Vṛtra with the thunder-bolt of hundred joints"; 5, 29, 2: *anu yad īṃ maruto mandasānam ārcann indraṃ papivāṃsaṃ sutasya | ādatta vajraṃ abhi yad ahiṃ hann apo yahvīr asṛjat sartavā u.* "When the Maruts sang loudly the praises of Indra who had drunk of the Soma and was intoxicated, he took up the thunder-bolt; when he slew the Ahi, he set free the great Waters to flow".

(23) 6, 27, 4: etat tyat ta indriyam aceti
yenāvadhīr varaśikhasya śeṣaḥ |
vajrasya yat te nihatasya śuṣmāt
svanāc cid indra paramo dadāra ||

"Then was seen this thy well-known Indra-strength by which thou slewest Varasikha's offspring, when, by the mere loud sound of the thunder-bolt hurled by thee, O Indra, the highest (world) was rent".

The loud sound of the thunder-bolt is referred to in 2, 11, 9-10: *Indro mahāṃ sindhum āśayānaṃ māyāvinaṃ vṛtram asphuran niḥ | arejetāṃ rodasī bhiyāne kanīkradato vṛṣṇo asya vajrāt || aroravīd vṛṣṇo asya vajraḥ.* "Indra cast out the wily Vṛtra who was confining the great river. The two worlds trembled, frightened by the loud-sounding thunder-bolt of this bull. The thunder-bolt of this bull roared". Compare also the epithet *svarya* 'making a loud sound' that is applied to the Vajra in 1, 32, 2: *tvaṣṭāsmai vajraṃ svaryaṃ tatakṣa* and 1, 61, 6: *asmā id u tvaṣṭātakṣad vajraṃ svaj astamaṃ svaryaṃ raṇāya.*

(24) 2, 17, 3: adhākṛṇoḥ prathamaṃ vīryaṃ mahad
yad asyāgre brahmaṇā śuṣmam airayaḥ |
ratheṣṭhena haryaśvena vicyutāḥ
pra jīrayaḥ sisrate sadhryaak pṛthak ||

"Then didst thou perform thy first valiant deed when at the beginning, thou didst let out a roar with thy spell. Delivered by (Indra) who has bay horses and sits in a chariot, the swift waters rush forward together impetuously".

As shown above (Vol. XIV. 164 ff.), Indra sings a spell of truth loudly in order to shatter the mountain-prison of the Waters and liberate them. The words *brahma* and *śuṣma* here refer to this shout and this spell of truth.

(25) 2, 17, 1: tad asmai navyam aṅgirasvad arcata
śuṣmā yad asya pratnathodīrate |
viśvā yad gotrā sahasā parīvṛtā
made somasya dṛṃhitā ny airayat ||

"Sing, like the Aṅgirases, a new hymn to this (Indra) so that his shouts may rise as in the past, when, in the intoxication caused by Soma, he, in a moment, shattered all the solid mountains (and set free) what had been confined".

Airayat, in pāda d, has for object, not only *gotra* but *parīvṛta* also. Similar constructions are found in 3, 30, 21:

ā no goirā dardṛhi gopate gāḥ 'break open for us the mountains (and set free) the cows, O lord of cows'; 4, 16, 8: *apo yad adrim puruhūta dardaḥ* 'when thou didst shatter the mountain (and set free) the Waters, O thou that art much invoked'; 7, 27, 2: *tvaṃ hi dṛḷhā maghavan vicetā apā vṛdhi parivṛtaṃ na rādhaḥ* 'open, O thou that art liberal and wise the solid mountains (and set free) the wealth enclosed in them'.

(26) 2, 12, 13: dyāvā cid asmai pṛthivī namete
śuṣmāc cid asya parvatā bhayante |
yaḥ somapā nicito vajrabāhur
yo vajrahastaḥ sa janāsa indraḥ ||

"Even heaven and earth bend before him; the mountains are frightened at even his loud shout; the Soma-drinker, who is seen with the thunder-bolt in his arms, with the thunder-bolt in his hands, he, O ye people, is Indra".

Compare 1,63,1 explained below. Compare also the epithet *saṃkrandana* 'roarer' that is applied to him in 10,103,1 (*saṃkrandano 'nimiṣa ekavīraḥ*) and 2 (*saṃkrandanenānimiṣeṇa jiṣṇunā*) and the epithet *svarya* 'roaring' which is used in connection with him in 1, 62, 4 (*svareṇādrim svaryo navagvaiḥ*) that has been explained above (XIV. 230) and in 4,17,4: *ya īm jajāna svaryam suvajram.*

(27) 2,12,1: yo jāta eva prathamo manasvān
devo devān kratunā paryabhūṣat|
yāsya śuṣmād rodasī abhyasetāṃ
nṛmṇasya mahnā sa janāsa indraḥ ||

"He, the first god, wise, who, being just born, helped the gods with his strength, of whose shout heaven and earth were afraid, on account of the greatness of his strength, he, O ye people, is Indra".

(28) 1,63,1: tvam maghāñ indra yo ha śuṣmair
dyāvā jajñānaḥ pṛthivī ame dhāḥ |
yad dha te viśvā girayaś cid abhvā
bhiyā dṛḷhāsaḥ kiraṇā naijan ||

"Great art thou, O Indra, who being born, set heaven and earth in commotion by thy roars when all beings, even the firmly-established mountains, trembled with fear like particles of dust".

(29) 4, 21, 7: satra yad īṃ bhārvarasya vṛṣṇaḥ
sisakti śuṣmaḥ stuvate bharāya |
guhā yad īm auśijasya gohe
pra yaddhiye prāyase madāya ||

"When, at the same time, the roar of the bull Bhārvara accompanies (him) for the victory of the praiser, when, in secret, in the hiding-place of Auśija, (he is destined) for impelling, for running, for the intoxication (of the fight)".

This verse occurs in a hymn addressed to Indra. Its import is obscure; and I have here mostly followed the translation of Geldner (RV. Über.), which implies reading *yad hiye* instead of *yad-dhiye* favoured by the Padakāra in pāda d.

(30) 17, 12: kiyat svid indro adhyeti mātuḥ
kiyat pitur janitur yo jajāna|
yo asya śuṣmaṃ muhukair iyarti
vāto na jūtaḥ stanayadbhir abhraiḥ||

"How much does Indra think of his mother, how much of his father, he who engendered (his father), when along with crowds, he lets out a loud roar, like the wind speeding with thundering clouds?"

muhukaiḥ 'with crowds'; see Ved. Stud. 3, p. 188; the reference here is to the Maruts and other followers of Indra. The question 'how much does he think' is a rhetorical form of stating 'he does not think at all'. Regarding the loud sound made by Vāyu, compare the epithet *krandad-iṣṭi* 'who speeds with a loud sound' that is applied to him in 10,100,2: *pra vāyave śucipe krandadiṣṭaye*.

(31) 6, 61, 2: iyaṃ śuṣmebhir bisakhā ivārujat
sānu giriṇāṃ taviṣebhir ūrmibhiḥ |
pārāvataghnīm avase suvṛktibhiḥ
sarasvatīm ā vivāsema dhītibhiḥ ||

"With impetuous roaring waves, this (river) has, like a digger of roots, broken the ridge of mountain[illegible] with well-cut hymns

we invite for protection Sarasvatī, the destroyer of the Pārāvata people".

This verse is addressed to the river Sarasvatī. With *śuṣmebhir ūrmibhiḥ* in the first half-verse, compare 10, 68, 1: *giribhrajo normayo madāntaḥ* 'roaring like waves that shatter the mountain'. *bisakhāḥ* is a hap. leg.; it is explained by Yāska (Nirukta, 2, 24, 1) as a compound of *bisa* and Durga paraphrases it as *bisa-khānakaḥ*. Though this explanation has been adopted by Böhtlingk and Roth (in the PW), Grassmann and Ludwig, I feel very doubtful about its correctness. Regarding the word *Pārāvataghnīm*, Ludwig points out (IV, 176) that the Pārāvata people are mentioned in 8, 34, 18 and in Tāṇḍya MBr. 9, 4, 10. Yāska however explains (l.c.) the word as *pārāvāra-ghātinīm* 'injuring the near and further banks'.

(32) 5, 10, 4: ye agne candra te giraḥ
śumbhanty aśvarādhasaḥ |
śuṣmebhiḥ śuṣmiṇo naro
divaś cid yeṣāṃ bṛhat
sukīrtir bodhati tmanā ||

"The men, O bright Agni, who, adorn hymns for thee which are accompanied by gifts of horses, the men who make a loud sound by means of hymns (and) whose fame more expansive than heaven even, is awake by itself".

The verse consists of two relative clauses only, and is a continuation of v. 3: *tvaṃ no agna eṣāṃ gayaṃ puṣṭiṃ ca vardhaya | ye stomebhiḥ pra sūrayo naro maghāny ānaśuḥ* "Multiply, Agni, for our sake the house and prosperity of these people, of the liberal givers, who, with hymns, have obtained wealth".

Giraḥ śumbhanti te 'adorn hymns for thee'=fashion polished hymns for thee and adorn thee with them, or, shortly, fashion fine hymns for thee. The expression recurs in 5, 39, 5: *tasmā u brahmavāhase . . giraḥ śumbhanty atrayaḥ* and 8, 6, 11: *ahaṃ pratnena manmanā giraḥ śumbhāmi kaṇvavat*; and similar expressions, with the root *añj* instead of *śubh* are used in 1, 61, 5: *indrāyārkaṃ juhvā samañje*; 1, 64, 1: *giraḥ*

samañje vidatheṣv ābhuvaḥ and 5. 54, 1: *pra śardhāya mārutāya svabhānava imāṁ vācyṁ anajā parvatacyute.*

It is the opinion of Oldenberg (SBE. 46, p. 389) and of Grassmann (RV. Über.) that *aśvarādhasaḥ* is masculine plural, qualifying *ye*; and they translate the first half-verse as 'they who adorn prayers for thee, O bright Agni, the givers of horses' and 'who, O bright Agni, adorn hymns for thee as one adorns horses"; similarly, Sāyaṇa too regards the word as masculine plural, but explains it as *aśva-dhanāḥ*. For my part, I believe that *aśvarādhasaḥ* is an epithet of *giraḥ* and means 'that are accompanied by gifts of horses', that is, 'which are accepted by the deity and rewarded by a gift of horses to the praiser'; compare 6, 53, 10: *uta no goṣaṇiṁ dhiyam aśvasām vājasām uta | nṛvat kṛṇuhi vītaye* "For the sake of enjoyment, make our hymn a winner of cows, horses and wealth, a bringer of a man (-child)". 1, 182, 4: *vācam-vācaṁ jaritū ratninīṁ kṛtam ubha śamsā nāsatyā 'vataṁ mama* 'make each hymn of the priest get a recompense of jewels, aid my praise, O Aśvins'; 2, 34, 6: *kartā dhiyaṁ jaritre vājapeśasam* 'arrange that the hymn of the priest be adorned (with gift of) wealth'. In fact, it is the prayer of the poet here that Agni should confer horses on the priests and make their fame wide-spread. Compare 10, 11, 7: *yas te agne sumatiṁ marto akṣat sahasaḥ sūno ati sa pra śṛṇve | iṣam dadhāno vahamāno aśvair ā sa dyumāñ amavān bhūṣati dyūn* "O Agni, son of strength, he who offers a good hymn to thee acquires great fame; possessing food, being carried by horses, mighty, he passes the days in glory"; 8, 103, 4-5: *marto yas te vaso dāsat | sa vīraṁ dhatte agna ukthaśamsinam tmanā sahasrapoṣiṇam | sa dṛḷhe cid abhi tṛṇatti vājam arvatā sa dhatte akṣiti śravaḥ* "O, bright Agni, the person who makes gifts (of oblations, sacrifices, etc.), to thee will get a son that will sing hymns of praise (in sacrifices) and will, by himself, maintain a thousand people; he breaks open wealth accompanied by a horse even in solid forts and he acquires imperishable fame", and 4, 8, 6, *te rāyā te suvīryaiḥ sasavāṁso vi śṛṇvire | ye agnā dadhire duvaḥ.* "They who have worshipped Agni have, after winning

(wealth), become renowned by their riches and abundance of sons".

Instead however of saying *kuru giro aśvarādhasaḥ* and *kuru nṛbhyaḥ sukīrtim*, the poet has preferred to employ the figure hysteron proteron (*akramātiśayokti*; see *Kuvalayānanda*, §. 13, v. 41) here, and said that the priests' hymns were accompanied by horses and that their fame spread beyond the sky.

Bṛhat (*sukīrtiḥ*)=*bṛhatī* (*sukīrtiḥ*): *bṛhat* occurs in many RV passages as an epithet of *śravaḥ* 'fame' (see Grassmann s.v. *bṛhat*). But the expression *sukīrtir divaś cid bṛhat* does not mean 'glory (shining) more than even the sky' as Oldenberg thinks[1] (SBE. 46, p. 389), but 'glory wider (*i.e.*, more wide-spread) than even the sky'. That is to say, the *sāmānya-dharma* is not 'shining mightily', but 'spreading widely (*vistṛtatvam*)'. Compare 10, 62, 9: *sāvarṇyasya dakṣiṇā vi sindhur iva paprathe* 'the fame of Sāvarni has spread as (wide as) the ocean' and 1, 126, 2: *śataṁ rājño nādhamānasya niṣkāñ chataṁ aśvān prayatān sadya ādam | śataṁ kakṣīvāñ asurasya gonāṁ divi śravo 'jaram ā tatāna* "A hundred gold pieces, a hundred horses, did I, Kakṣīvān, receive in one day as present from the king who was craving (fame), a hundred cows from the mighty one. He has (by this gift) extended his unaging fame in heaven (*i.e.*, so as to fill heaven)" and the term *bṛhac-chravāḥ* 'of wide-spread fame' that is used as an epithet of Indra's chariot and of the gods in 1, 54, 3 and 10, 66, 1. Compare also yaśobhir asyākhilaloka-dhāvibhir vibhīṣitā dhāvati tāmasī maṣī (*Subhāṣita-ratna-*

1. Oldenberg (l. c.) translates *bodhati tmanā* as 'awakes by itself'; Grassman (RV. Über.) thinks that *bodhati* has a causative sense and translates the second pāda of our verse as 'whose singing of praise with vigour awakens the heavens to devotion', construing *divaḥ* as accusative plural; Ludwig regards *bodhati* as locative singular (of *bodhat*) and translates the half-verse (II, p. 334) as 'the men are strong indeed, they whose fame is like that of high heaven itself to the observing', regarding *bṛhat* as equivalent to *bṛhataḥ*. Sāyaṇa explains the half-verse as: śuṣminaḥ balavantaḥ santaḥ śuṣmebhiḥ śuṣmaiḥ svakīyaiḥ balaiḥ sattvaiḥ śatru-śoṣakā bhavanti| yeṣāṃ tvat-sambandhinaṃ stavaṃ kurvatāṃ divas cid ākāśād api bṛhat bṛhatī sukīrtir bhavati| sarva-dig-antarāla-vartinī kīrtir bhavatīty arthaḥ| evaṃ-vidhaṃ tvāṃ Gayaḥ| tmanā ātmanā svayam eva bodhati bodhayati.

bhāṇḍāgāra, 1911, p. 140, v. 14); svairaṃ carantīm api ca trilokyāṃ tvat-kīrtim āhuḥ kavayaḥ satīṃ nu (*ibid.* v. 16); trijagad-aṅgana-laṅghana-jāṅghikais tava yaśobhir atīva pavitritaḥ (*ibid.* v. 18); āste dāmodarīyām iyam udara-darīṃ yā 'dhiśayya trilokī saṃmātuṃ śaktimanti prathima-bharavaśād atra naitad-yaśāṃsi (*ibid.* p. 144, v. 83) and other similar verses in which the fame (*kīrti* or *yaśas*) of kings is described as pervading or transcending the three worlds (*i.e.*, earth, heaven and the under-world or pātāla).

Bodhati tmanā 'is awake by itself' means 'endures or flourishes when all others have perished'; it is thus synonymous with the terms *akṣiti* and *ajara* that are used in 8, 103, 5 and 1, 126, 2 explained above. It is interesting to note that, in classical Sanskrit literature the verb *jāgṛ* 'to keep awake' which is a synonym of *budh*, is used in similar circumstances. Compare kṣitipa kim api citraṃ jāgarūke 'pi yuṣmad-yaśasi śaśikadambe tvat-pratāpe 'rka-bimbe | nayana-kuvalayāni tvad-dviṣat-kāminīnām api ca vadana-padmāny āśu yat saṃkucanti (*Subhāṣita-ratna-bhāṇḍāgāra*, 1911, p. 144, v. 6); satyaṃ sā bahu-rūpiṇī samabhavat siddhi-svarūpā bhavat-kīrtiḥ śrī-raghu-vaṃśaratna vimalā jāgarti viśvodare | (*ibid.* p. 125, v. 138); adhyāhāraḥ smarahara-śiraś-candra-śeṣasya śeṣasyāher bhūyaḥ phaṇasamucitaḥ kāya-yaṣṭī-nikāyaḥ | dugdhāmbodher muni-culukana-trāsa-nāśābhyupāyaḥ kāya-vyūhaḥ kva jagati na jāgarty adaḥ-kīrti-pūraḥ (*ibid.* p. 141, v. 35=*Nāiṣadhīyacarita* 12, 57).

Regarding *śuṣmebhiḥ śuṣminaḥ* in pāda c, compare *vājebhir vājinīvatī* in 1, 3, 10, *kratubhiḥ sukratuḥ*; *dakṣaiḥ sudakṣaḥ*, *vṛṣatvebhir vṛṣā*, *dyumnebhir dyumni* in 1, 91, 2; and *vasūnāṃ vasupate* and *gonāṃ gopate* in 10, 47, 1 and other similar constructions. The first word in these expressions is more less expletive; see *Ved. Studien* 1, 10 and the verses that are introductory to Veṅkaṭa-mādhava's scholium on Adhy. 2, Aṣṭaka 4 of the RV (pp. 55, 56 in part 1 of Dr. Raja's edition). *Suṣmebhiḥ śuṣminaḥ* is equivalent to śuṣminaḥ and means 'singing loudly, making a loud sound'.

(33) *7, 7, 2*: ā yāhy agne pathyā anu svā
mandro devānāṃ sakhyaṃ juṣāṇaḥ |
ā sānu śuṣmair nadayan pṛthivyā
jambhebhir viśvam uśadhag vanāni ||

"Come, O Agni, along thy ways, thou that art lovely, enjoying the friendship of the gods, making the ridge of the earth resound with thy roars, consuming with thy jaws all the forests.

(34) 10, 142, 6: út te śuṣmā jihatām út te arcir
út te agne śaśamānasya vājāḥ |
úc chvañcasva ní nama várdhamāna
ā́ tvādya víśve vasavaḥ sadantu ||

"May thy roars rise high, O Agni, thy flame and thy speeds when thou art active in the worship of the gods. Waxing, do thou rise high and bend low; may all the Vasus sit by thee".

(35) 10, 3, 6: asyá śuṣmāso dadṛśānapaver
jéhamānasya svanayan niyúdbhiḥ |
pratnébhir yó ruśádbhir devátamo
yó rébhadbhir aratír bhāti vibhvā ||

"Who, bright, effulgent, most godlike shines with (his) old, gleaming, singing (flames), the roars of him whose felly is visible, who presses swiftly forward, sounded in teams".

Śuṣma has the sense of *tejas* in the following passages,

(36) 10, 147, 1: śrát te dadhāmi prathamāya manyáve
'han yád vṛtraṃ naryaṃ viver apaḥ |
ubhé yát tvā bhávato ródasī ánu
rejate śuṣmāt pṛthivī cid adrivaḥ ||

"I place trust in thy anger which was foremost when thou didst smite the strong Vṛtra and release the Waters, when the two worlds followed thee, O wielder of the thunder-bolt, and when even the earth trembled before the thunder-bolt".

Compare 2; 11, 1: *arejetāṁ ródasī bhiyāné kanikradato vṛṣṇo asya vajrāt* (cited on p. 6 above) which describes the earth and heaven as trembling before the thunder-bolt. I interpret śuṣma here as *tejas* 'sharp weapon; *i.e.*, thunder-bolt'; the meaning 'roar' too, however suits the context here.

(37) 6, 3, 8: dhāyobhir vā yujyebhir arkair
vidyun na davidyot svebhiḥ śuṣmaiḥ |
śardho vā yo marutāṃ tatakṣa
ṛbhur na tveṣo rabhasāno adyaut ||

"He (Agni) who shone like lightning with loud-sounding flames that supported (him) and were yoked (to his chariot), or, who, like an artisan, chiselled the host of Maruts, shone brightly and impetuously".

This verse is addressed to Agni, and the meaning seems to be, 'whether he is drawn by his flames or whether he is fashioning the Maruts, Agni shines brilliantly'. But the meaning of *dhāyobhiḥ* is uncertain and so is the import of pāda c.

(38) 10, 113, 1: tam asya dyāvāpṛthivī sacetasā
viśvebhir devair anu śuṣmam āvatām |
yad ait kṛṇvāno mahimānam indriyaṃ
pītvī somasya kratumān avardhata ||

"With the All-gods, heaven and earth, being of the same mind, aided that weapon (*viz.*, Vajra) of his when he went manifesting his Indra-might, drank the Soma juice and grew strong".

Śuṣmaḥ=tejaḥ 'sharp-edged weapon'. Compare 4, 16, 7: *apo vṛtraṃ vavrivāṃsaṃ parāhan prāvat te vajraṃ pṛthivī sacetāḥ* "thou didst kill off Vṛtra who was confining the Waters; the earth, being of the same mind (*i.e.*, being in sympathy with thee), aided thy thunder-bolt" and note the occurrence in this verse also of the adjective *sacetas* and the root *av*. The words *kṛṇvāno mahimānam indriyam* refer to the killing of Vṛtra and the freeing of the Waters.

In the other RV passages in which the word *śuṣma* occurs, the meaning *bala* suits the context well, and in some of them, the meaning *tejas* also.

ŚABARA AND THE NYĀYA-VAIŚEṢIKA DARŚANAS.*

BY

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In an article published in the Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute,[1] discussing the date of Śabarasvāmin, I have shown that he is acquainted with Pāṇini, Kātyāyana, and Piṅgala; and that his acquaintance with Patañjali is doubtful. Subsequently[2] I have also shown that even if Patañjali is accepted as being a contemporary of and as such known to Śabara, we have definite evidence to show that he was not looked upon by the latter as an authority on grammar, a position of honour that he has been enjoying for nearly two thousand years. In what follows I propose to discuss the relation between Śabara on the one hand and the *Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika darśanas* on the other.

Even a casual reader of the *Śābara bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *sūtras* will not fail to notice that Śabara in several places therein has referred to the *padārthas* of the *Vaiśeṣika darśana* by their names. And there are at least two places in that *bhāṣya* where one finds a clear echo of these *padārthas*. Thus at MS. I. 3. 30 while defining the terms *ākṛti* and *vyakti* Śabara writes: '*Dravyaguṇakarmaṇām sāmānyamātram ākṛtiḥ, asādhāraṇaviśeṣā vyaktiḥ*'. MS. X. 3. 44 is the other place where we get a similar echo.[3] *Samavāya*

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1. It was read at the Hyderabad session of the All-India Oriental Conference and was subsequently published in the Silver Jubilee Volume of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute.

2. In an article entitled '*Some Positive Data for the Date of Śabarasvāmin*' which I read at the Darbhanga session of the All-India Oriental Conference and published in the Journal of the Ganganath Jha Reasearch Institute, Vol. VI, part 3, pp. 231-240. Also in my article '*Sabara aud Patañjali*' which is to appear in The Prof. Gode Number of The NIA.

3. Cf. 'यथा शतमाभ्यां दीयतामिति एकजातीयानां शतं न भिन्नजातीयानाम्। यथा द्रव्यं गुणः कर्मावयव इत्येवमादीनाम् ॥'

S. B. on MS. X. 3-44

is mentioned in several places[1] not only by the Śabara in his *bhāṣya*, but also by Jaimini in his *sūtra*. The same is true of *abhāva*. Nor are the *nyāya* terms wanting. For we do find Śabara using the terms *hetu*, *liṅga*, *saṁyoga*, *samavāya*, and *pratijñā*, besides the highly technical terms like *nigraha-sthāna* and *nirṇamana*. But at the same time we find Śabara using the expressions *lakṣaṇa*[2], *pratyayita puruṣa*[3], and *vyati-ṣaṅga*[4] where a *naiyāyika* would use the expressionss *liṅga*, *āpta*, and *saṁyoga* respectively. And this he does inspite of his acquaintance with the *nyāya* terms. This indifferent attitude towards the technical terms of *nyāya* on the part of Śabara, inspite of his acquaintatance with them, may perhaps be taken as being indicative of the fact that he lived at a time when the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika terminology* as we now have it from the extant works of Gautama and Kaṇāda was not yet definitely fixed. It may, therefore, be worth while to take up such passages from Śabara's *bhāṣya* on Jaimini's *sūtra* as show his acquaintance with the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika systems* and compare them with the corresponding portions from the works of Gautama and Kaṇāda, and also the commentary of Vātsyāyana on the former.

Let us first consider the passage where Śabara has used the expression *nigrahasthāna*[5]. There the point under dis-

1. Of all the places where this term occurs in the *Śābara Bhāṣya*, MS. XII. 1. 1 is the most striking; for, there we find Śabara paraphrasing it. This passage is discussed below.

2. Cf. 'लक्ष्यते येन तल्लक्षणम्। धूमो लक्षणमग्नेरिति हि वदन्ति ॥'
SB. on MS. I. 1-2.

3. Cf. 'यत्तु लौकिकं वचनं तच्चेत् प्रत्ययितात्पुरुषात् इन्द्रियविषयं वा अवितथमेव तत् ॥' SB. on MS. I. 1-2

4. तन्तुव्यतिषङ्गजनितोऽयं तन्तुव्यतिषङ्गविनाशात् विनश्यति ॥
SB. on MS. I. 1-21.

5. This passage occurs in the *Vṛttikāra-grantha* as follows:—
'नन्वाकृतिः साध्या अस्ति वा न वा इति न प्रत्यक्षा सती साध्या भवितुमर्हति रुचकः स्वस्तिको वर्धमानक इति हि प्रत्यक्षं दृश्यते। व्यामोह इति चेत् न। न असति प्रत्ययाविपर्यासे व्यामोह इति शक्यते वक्तुम्। असत्यप्यर्थान्तरे एवञ्जातीयको भवति प्रत्ययः पङ्क्तिः यूथं वनम् इति चेत् न असम्बद्धमिदं वचनमुपन्यस्तम्। किम् असति वने वनप्रत्ययो भवतीति प्रत्यक्षमेवाक्षिप्यते वृक्षा अपि न सन्तीति। यद्येवं प्रत्युक्तः स माहायानिकः पक्षः। अथ किमाकृतिसद्भाववादी उपालभ्यते सिद्धान्तान्तरं ते दुष्यतीति वनेऽसति वनप्रत्ययः प्राप्नोति इति एवमपि प्रकृतं दूषयितुमशक्नुवतस्सिद्धान्तान्तरदूषणे निग्रहस्थानमापद्यते ॥'

cussion is the existence or otherwise of *ākṛti*, which according to the *mīmāṁsaka* is the real import of a word. He argues that it is a matter of direct perception and as such requires no further proof for its existence. The Buddhist, however, demurs; and declares that the direct perception of the *ākṛti* which the *mīmāṁsaka* speaks of is only a delusion or *vyāmoha*. For, this perception is like that of *paṅkti*, *yūtha*, or *vana*, which arises inspite of the fact that over and above the trees etc. which alone we perceive there, there is nothing tangible which can be taken as being denoted by these words. This argument, however, is refuted by Śabara by pointing out that if by this argument the *Buddhist* merely wants to show how by assuming *ākṛti* as being selfevident the *mīmāṁsaka* is vitiating one of his other *siddhāntas* (*viz.* that direct perception arises only if the object of perception is existing or *sat*), then he is only exposing himself to *nigrahasthāna*. For instead of trying to refute the objection that is levelled against his position by the *mīmāṃsaka* or directly giving a lie to the proposition set forth by him here, the Buddhist is only trying to silence him by trying to show that the present assumption would vitiate some of his other assumptions. Now looking to the *Nyāya-sūtra* we find Gautama speaking of no less than twenty-two *nigrahasthānas*[1]; and defining one among these as *Svapakṣe doṣābhyupagamāt parapakṣe doṣaprasango matānujñā*[2]. Thus we see that the *nigrahasthāna* called *matānujñā* occurs when a disputant, instead of directly refuting the objection hurled against him by his opponent, merely tries to silence him by hurling a counter-objection against some view held by the latter. In the passage from the *bhāṣya* of Śabara referred to above we find that the Buddhist is doing exactly this; and thus it is clear that he, therefore, is exposing himself to the type of *nigrahasthāna* which Gautama calls by the name of *matānujñā*. Now here, though Śabara has not given us the exact name of the type of *nigrahasthāna* to which the Buddhist is exposing himself, he has yet clearly shown his acquaintance with the idea of *nigrahasthāna* as we find it in the *nyāya-sūtra*. This by itself, however, cannot prove very definitely that Śabara was or was not acquainted with the extant *nyāya-sūtra* and the *bhāṣya* of Vātsyāyana on it,

1. Cf. *Nyāya-sūtra* V. 2. 1.
2. Cf op. cit. V. 2. 20.

unless some very convincing piece of positive evidence is adduced to that effect.

Now we take up the other passages where Śabara has given us definitions of various technical terms of the *nyāya* and the *vaiśeṣika darśanas*. Thus Śabara declares that MS. VII. 1. 12 is a *nigamana sūtra*; and defines *nigamana* as '*Pratijñāyā hetoś ca punarvacanaṃ*'. Gautama's definition of *nigamana* is *Hetvapadeśāt pratijñāyāḥ punarvacanam nigamanam*'[1]. Here again we find a close similarity between the definition of *nigamana* as given by Śabara and that given by Gautama. And yet it is clear that they are not identical with one another. Another technical term a definition of which has been suggested by Śabara in his *bhāṣya* is *samavāya*. While commenting on the opening *sūtra* of the last chapter of Jaimini's work, Śabara paraphrases the the term *samavāya* occurring in that *sūtra* by *ekadeśakālakartṛtava*. Thus *samavāya* according to him means *ekadeśatva*, or *ekakālatva*, or *ekakartṛtva*. We do not find the term *samavāya* directly defind in the *nyāya-sūtra* of Gautama; while the *vaiśeṣaka-sūtra* defines it as '*Ihedam iti yataḥ kāryakāraṇayoḥ sa samavāyaḥ*'[2]. This definition, we see, is quite different from the one given or suggested by Śabara in the paraphrase referred to above. Here then Śabara would seem to be drawing for his definition of *samavāya* on some source other than the *Nyāya* or the *vaiśeṣika sūtra*.[3]

Another technical term that we have to consider here is *karma* which has been defined in the *vaiśeṣikasūtra* also. Commenting MS. II. 1. 15 Śabara has given us a definition of *karma* in the words: '*Yad āśrayam deśāntaram prāpayati tat karmetyucyate*'. Now Kaṇāda's definition of *karma* is: *Ekadravyam saṁyogavibhageṣv anapekṣakāraṇam iti karma-*

1. Cf. op. cit. I—1. 39

2. Cf. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra*, VII. 2. 26

3. It is interesting to note that no such explanation of the term *samavāya* has been given in the *Nyāya-kośa* (of Jhalakikar and Abhyankar); and yet we do find that it was known as such to Śaṅkarācārya as can be seen from the following extract from his *bhāṣya* on Brahmasūtra, II. 2. 17:

'गुणादीनां द्रव्याधीनत्वं द्रव्यगुणयोरयुतसिद्धत्वादिति यदुच्यते तत्पुनरयुतसिद्धत्वमपृथग्देशत्वं वा स्यादपृथक्कालत्वं वापृथक्स्वभावत्वं वा।

lakṣaṇam'[1]. It is evident that whereas Kaṇāda is here giving us a scientific definition of *karma* Śabara has given us only a general description thereof.

The definitions of *vyakti*, *ākṛti*, and *jāti*, offer yet another point for comparison between Śabara on the one hand and Gautama and his commentator on the other. It may in the first instance be noted that the *mīmāṁsaka* would make no distinction between *ākṛti* and *jāti* as is done by the *naiyāyika* (and even the *vaiśeṣika*). Thus the *naiyāyika* after a long discussion[2] concludes that the exact import of a word is not merely the individual, or the universal, or the configuration taken singly, but all these together[3]. The *mīmāṁsaka*, on the other hand, holds that it is *ākṛti* (which is according to him synonymous with *jāti*) alone and not *vyakti* that is primarily denoted by a word. Let us now compare the definitions of these terms as given by these authors. Śabara defines *vyakti* and *ākṛti* in the *ākṛtyadhikaraṇa*[4] in the following words: '*Dravyaguṇakarmaṇāṁ sāmānyamākṛtiḥ asādhāraṇaviśeṣā vyaktiḥ*'. According to Gautama *ākṛti* is nothing but the peculiar arrangement of the various parts of the thing concerned, and is indicative of *jāti* (or *sāmānya*) and also the indicatory marks thereof[5]. *Jāti*, on the other hand, is defined by him as something that engenders (or yields) some common perception,[6] so that Śabara's *ākṛti* would seem to correspond to the *jāti* of Gautama. But the expression *ākṛti* would also seem to include the *avayavasaṁsthānviśeṣa* or configuration when we find Śabara declaring, for example, that it is not possible to make a *śyenavyakti* though *śyena ākṛti* one may possibly make, so that the text

1. Cf. *Vaiśeṣikasūtra* I. 1. 17
2. op. cit. II. 2. 60—67
3. Cf. 'व्यक्त्याकृतिजातयस्तु पदार्थः ॥' op. cit. II. 2. 67.
4. Cf. MS. I. 3. 30-35; the definitions occur in SB. on MS. 1. 3. 30
5. Cf. 'आकृतिर्जातिर्लिङ्गाख्या ॥ op. cit. II. 2. 69, which Vātsyāyana explains by
'यया जातिर्जातिलिङ्गानि च प्रख्यायन्ते तामाकृतिं विद्यात् ॥'
6. Cf. 'समानप्रसवात्मिका जातिः ॥' op. cit. II. 2, 70. which Vātsyāyana explains by
'या समानां बुद्धिं प्रसूते भिन्नेष्वधिकरणेषु....तत्सामान्यविशेषो जातिरिति ॥'

'*Śyenacitam cinvīta*' becomes plausible only on the assumption that *ākṛti* is the exact import of a *śabda*.[1] Thus it would appear that the conception of *ākṛti* of the *mīmāṁsaka* has been split up into two viz. *jāti* and *ākṛti* by the *naiyāyika*. This would suggest again the priority of the former over the latter. From all this, therefore, it may be observed that Śabara shows a general acquaintance with the rudiments of the *nyāya* and the *vaiśeṣika* systems, but not with the extant *sūtra* works of these systems.

This impression thus gathered is again strengthened when we take into consideration the definitions of the *pramāṇas* viz., *pratyakṣa* and *anumāna* as given by Śabara in what is known as the *vṛttikāra-grantha*[2]. *Pratyakṣa* has been defined by Jaimini himself in MS. 1. 1. 4 as '*Satsamprayoge puruṣasya indriyāṇām buddhijanma tat pratyakṣam*' which roughly corresponds with '*Indriyārthasannikarṣotpannam jñānām*' occurring in the definition[3] of *pratyakṣa* as given by Gautama. But the latter, not being satisfied with this, has added three more expressions viz. *avyapadeśyam, avyabhicāri* and *vyavasāyātmakam*. This is enough to show that Gautama's definition which is more complex and rigid is later than that of Jaimini. But the difference is still glaringly clear when we come to the treatment of *anumāna* in the works of Śabara on the one hand and that of Gautama on the other. Of course, Śabara knows that *anumāna* and all the other *pramāṇas* are *tatpūrvaka* or based on *pratyakṣa* as Gautama also has declared it[4]. But the definition of *anumāna* as it is given in the *vṛttikāra grantha* by Śabara is '*Jñātasambandhasya kadeśadarśanād ekadeśāntare' sannikṛṣṭe' rthe*

1. Cf. 'श्येनचितं चिन्वीतेति वचनमाकृतौ संभवति यद्याकृत्यर्थः श्येनशब्दः । व्यक्तिवचने तु न श्येनव्यक्तिरुत्पादयितुं शक्यत इत्यशक्यार्थवचनादनर्थकः ॥ SB. on MS. I. 3-33

2. This is a rèsumè of the earliest known commentary on the MS. I. 1. 3-5 by an author whose identity is as yet not definitely proved. This commentary or *vṛtti* as it is otherwise called, is all lost but for this rèsumè of only a fraction thereof which Śabara has given us in his *bhāṣya*.

3. Cf. op. cit.. I. 1. 4

4. Cf. प्रत्यक्षपूर्वकत्वाच्चानुमानोपमानार्थापत्तीनामप्यकारणत्वमिति ॥'
SB. on MS. 1. 1-4,

buddhiḥ'. Gautama also in his *sūtra*[1] describes *anumāna* as being *tatpūrvakaṁ* and Vātsyāyana explains it by '*Tatpūrvakam ity anena liṅgaliṅginoḥ sambandhadarśanam liṅgadarśanam cābhisambadhyate, liṅgaliṅginoḥ sambaddhayor darśanena liṅgasmṛtir abhisambadhyate, smṛtyā liṅgadarśanena cāpratyakṣo'rtho'numīyate*'. When we came to the divisions of *anumāna*, we see Gautama giving us three of them while Śabara is content with only two[2]. The divisions according to the former are *pūrvavat, śeṣavat,* and *sāmānyato'dṛṣṭa*, while the latter gives the names of his divisions as *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭasambandha* and *sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandha*. From these names one might think that the *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭasambandha* of Śabara should cover the first two divisions of Gautama so that both these modes of divisions would ultimately tally. And the impression thus gathered is not altogether falsified by a study of the illustrations of these divisions as offered by these authors. In fact the explanation of the term *sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandha* as given by Vātsyāyana confirms the view that the remaining two divisions, differing as they do from the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandha*, must be *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭasambandha*. For Vātsyāyana states in clear terms that the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandha anumāna* occurs when the *sambandha* between the *liṅga* and the *liṅgin* is *apratyakṣa* and when the *liṅgin*, which also is *apratyakṣa*, is inferred from the similarity of the *liṅga* with some *artha*. The very fact that the *sambandha* between the *liṅga* and the *liṅgin* is *apratyakṣa* in the *sāmānyatodṛṣṭa* variety of *anumāna* is enough to show that in the other types of *anumāna* it must be *pratyakṣa*. This, in other words, means that the remaining types of *anumāna* must be *pratyākṣatodṛṣṭasambandha*.

Let us now compare the illustrations of the divisions as given by these authors. The *Sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandha* is illustrated in the *vṛttikāra grantha* as follows: '*Sāmānyatodṛṣṭasambandham yathā Devadattasya gatipūrvikām deśāntaraprāptim upalabhyādityagatismaraṇam*'. Vātsyāyana's illustration is almost identical, though not identically worded. He

1. Cf. op. cit. I. 1. 5: 'अथ तत्पूर्वकं त्रिविधमनुमानम्—पूर्ववत्, शेषवत्, सामान्यतोदृष्टं च ॥'

2. Read: 'तच्च द्विविधं-प्रत्यक्षतोदृष्टसंबन्धं सामान्यतोदृष्टसंबन्धं च ॥' वृत्तिकारग्रन्थ

writes: *'Sāmānyatodṛṣṭam—Vrajyāpūrvakam anyatra dṛṣṭasyānyatra adarśanam iti Tathā cādityasya, tasmād astyapratyakṣāpyādityasya vrajyā iti'*. As for the *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭa*, the *vṛttikāra grantha* has the following: *'Pratyakṣatodṛṣṭasambandham yathā—dhūmākṛtidarśanād agnyākṛtivijñānam.'* Vātsyāyana, however, has two illustrations for the two divisions of Gautama viz. *pūrvavat* and *śeṣavat*. Before giving the illustrations he tells us what is meant by these terms respectively. Thus *pūrvavat* is that in which the effect is inferred from cause, while *śeṣavat* is just the opposite of it.[1] According to a second explanation[2] offered by Vātsyāyana the former is based on the invariable concomitance previously experienced as existing between two things, the perception of one of which leads to the inference of the other ; while the latter may be described as inference by elimination. Broadly speaking these two divisions of *anumāna* may be said to correspond to the deductive and inductive processes respectively. It is, however, interesting to note that after having first illustrated all the varieties of *anumāna*, Vātsyāyana offers his second explanation of the terms *pūrvavat* noticed above in the words: *'Pūrvavad iti yatra yathāpūrvam pratyakṣabhūtayor anyataradarśanenetaratarasyāpratyakṣasyānumānam yathā dhūmenāgneriti'*. One cannot but be struck by the close similarity of this view and the illustration of the *pūrvavat* with that of the *pratyakṣatodṛṣṭasambandha* occurring in the *vṛttikāra grantha* referred to above. And the fact that Vātsyāyana is giving this as an alternative explanation shows that such a view about the *pūrvavat* must have been prevalent prior to his day.[3] It may thus be observed

1. Read: 'पूर्ववदिति यत्र कारणेन कार्यमनुमीयते ।' and 'शेषवत् तद् यत्र कार्येण कारणमनुमीयते ।' (वात्स्यायनभाष्य on न्या० सू० I. 1-5)

2. Cf. 'अथ वा पूर्ववदिति यत्र यथा पूर्वप्रत्यक्षभूतयोरन्यतरदर्शनेनान्यतरस्याप्रत्यक्षस्यानुमानं यथा धूमेनाग्नेरिति शेषवद् नाम परिशेषः स च प्रसक्तप्रतिषेधेऽन्यत्राप्रसङ्गात् शिष्यमाणे संप्रत्ययः ॥'

3. It may be observed that in addition to the two views about the divisions of *anumāna* mentioned above there is a third view al o stated in the *Nyāya-vārtika*. According to it the three divisions of Gautama may be otherwise described as *kevalānvayi, kevalavyatireki*, and *anvayavyatireki* respectively. Of these the first and the last correspond to the two divisions spoken of by Śabara while the second would correspond to a different *pramāṇa* altogether viz. *arthāpatti* which according to the *naiyāyika* is only an inference of the *vyatireki* type.

that the *vṛttikāra grantha* and hence Śabara is as well, more likely than not, earlier than not only Vātsyāyana but also Gautama whose division of *anumāna* is evidently more elaborate than that occurring therein.

Here it may be interesting to note that Īśvarakṛṣṇa in his *Sāṁkhya-kārikā*[1] also speaks of the three divisions of *anumāna* saying that *anumāna* is said to be *trividha*. The earliest known commentary on it—recently reconstructed[2] from the Chinese translation thereof by Paramārtha[3]—names these varieties exactly like Gautama and illustrates them almost on the same lines as Vātsyāyana. This would show that Śabara must be much earlier than not only the commentator but also the author of the *Sāṁkhya-kārikā*.

Before, however, we express any such definite view we should take into consideration some other passages containing discussions on certain topics such as *the exact import of śabda*[4] and *the eternity of śabda*[4] which are common to both the *mīmāṁsā* on the one hand and the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* systems on the other. It is only after a careful study of these and other similar passages that we may be able to appraise accurately the exact nature of the relationship between Śabara on the one hand and the *nyāya-vaiśeṣika* systems on the other. For the present, therefore, we must rest satisfied with the moderate conclusion that Śabara is no doubt acquainted with the *nyāya vaiśeṣika* terminology and tenets, though his acquaintance with the *sūtras* of those systems and the earliest commentaries on them cannot be definitely proved.

1. Cf. 'त्रिविधमनुमानमाख्यातम् । तल्लिङ्गलिङ्गिपूर्वकम् ॥' सां. कारिका 5.

2. It has been reconstructed and edited with Introduction, Notes and Appendices by N. Aiyaswami Shastri, and published as No. 7 of the *Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Series*, Tirupati (1944).

3. Paramārtha belongs to the middle of the 6th century A.D.

4. These topics are discussed at *Nyāyasūtra* II. 2. 13-70 and MS. I. 3. 30-35 and MS. I. 1. 6-23.

UDAYANA'S CRITICISM OF THE SĀṂKHYA*

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It is admitted by all the orthodox schools of philosophy that an individual's personal life is determined by his own deeds. These deeds do not, however, determine the course of his life directly. His good or bad deeds produce a quality in the agent in him called his Adṛṣṭa. It is this Adṛṣṭa which regulates his retributive experience. The deeds leave a further trail behind. They create impressions or Saṁskāras in the agent which urge him to perform similar good or bad actions in the future as well. Now both the Naiyāyikas and the Sāṁkhyas admit that the agent is the substratum of the Adṛṣṭa and the impressions. While the Sāṁkhyas believe that the self or the spirit is inactive and that it is the Buddhi or the Intellect which is the agent and the seat of the Adṛṣṭa and the impression, the Naiyāyikas led by Udayanācārya hold that the Self is both the agent and the substratum of the Adṛṣṭa etc. For the Sāṁkhyas it is an error to entertain the idea that the spirit is the agent. In fact, according to them the notion of the spirit as 'doer' or 'kartā' is incompatible with its libera ion and is the cause of its bondage. This they call the error of 'bhedāgraha' or the 'non-apprehension of the difference'. The Sāṁkhyas dissociate agency and consciousness. For the Naiyāyikas, however, this is not so. For them it is quite justified, rather this is the only right view that the spirit be looked upon as the 'doer'. The bondage of the self is due not to its sense of Kartṛtva but to its ignorance of the true nature of the objective world and of itself.

Udayanācārya in his Nyāyakusumāñjali refutes the view of the Sāṁkhyas which is as follows:—

The self is neither a cause nor an effect. Consciousness is its nature. It is inactive. Prakṛti is the priomordial element. It is the First Cause and non-sentient. Mahat, Ahaṁkāra etc. are its evolutes. It is for the Experience or the

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'bhoga' and the Liberation or the 'apavarga' of the Puruṣa. The Spirit or the Purusa is, however, not of the nature of being bound by the various objects. For that would discount any possibliity of his freedom. Nor can it be said that it is in the nature of Prakṛti to bind the Puruṣa, for being eternal then, it would always bind him. Thus once again would be precluded any chance of his freedom. Similarly all the objects like the jar etc. are not for him. For we find that while we can perceive an object before us we cannot do so if the same be screened by a wall. This brings in the mediacy of the different senses. At such times, as pointed out before, our optical sense does not come into direct contact with the object concerned. This means that though our Spirit is all-pervading we can perceive only those things which are introduced to us by our sense-organs. The senses do not, however, explain all the phenomena of knowledge. At times one fails to perceive an object, say a melodious sound, though his auditory sense is in direct touch with it. To explain this fact, a further link has to be admitted, viz, the Manas. It is only when our Manas is connected with a particular sense that the presence of an object is felt. Nor is this all. In dreams one sometimes identifies himself with a tiger etc. On such occasions he does not look upon himself as a man. This brings to us another element of human psychic apparatus, viz., the Ahaṁkāra or the Ego. There yet remains another kind of experience. In dreamless sleep the functions of the Ahaṁkāra or the Ego become dormant and yet the psysiological functions of the body like respiration, etc. continue. Therefore, that which persists throughout the three states of waking, dreaming and dreamless sleep and which is the seat of impressions and the Adṛṣṭa, is called the Antaḥkaraṇa or the Buddhi. It becomes the limiting adjunct of the Spirit. It is insentient and is the Agent in us. But due to the error of "non-apprehension of the difference" it is looked upon as conscious. Likewise the Puruṣa, which is inactive and the passive spectator of the empirical drama, is erroneously looked upon as Agent.

Indeterminate knowledge is the function of senses; determinate knowledge is that of the Manas; conceit of the Ahaṁkāra and the determination to do something belongs to Buddhi. In fact, this Buddhi has three aspects; affection by the Puruṣa (पुरुषोपराग), affection by the objects (विषयोपरागः) and entering into activity. We have the feeling—'this has to be done by me',

इदं मया कर्तव्यम्. Here this affection by the Puruṣa,-'by me' is unreal due to the non-apprehension of the difference just like the affection of the face reflected in a mirror. The fact is that the 'agency' belongs to the Buddhi and not to the Puruṣa which by its nature is inactive. Similarly consciousness is innate in the Puruṣa and not in the Buddhi. This position is erroneously reversed in our experience. 'This' or 'idam', the affection or the modification of the 'Buddhi' by the object through the channel of the sense organs is real like the dimness of the mirror imparted to it by the breath. The function of the Buddhi consequent upon these two affections is also real.

Jñāna or knowledge is the affction of the 'Buddhi' by the object. The coming into contact of this with the affection of the 'Buddhi' by the Puruṣa is Upalabdhi like the coming into contact of the face reflected in a mirror with its dimness. Now the eight dispositions 'Sukha, Duḥkha, Rāga, Dveṣa, Icchā, Prayatna, Dharma and Adharma' belong to the 'Buddhi' being experienced as co-existing in it. Consciousness is not innate in Buddhi for the latter is subject to modifications.

The criticism of the above view of the Sāṁkhyas is contained in the following Kārikā of the Nyāyakusumāñjali (1-XIV):—

कर्तृधर्मा नियन्तारश्चेतिता च स एव नः ।
अन्यथानपवर्गः स्यादसंसारोऽथवा ध्रुवः ॥

What regulate the individual's retributive experience are the attributes of the Agent. According to our view the Agent is conscious. Otherwise there would be either no liberation or no bondage. Dharma and Adharma as attributes of the Agent regulate the individual's retributive experience. No one can question this view. To explain briefly, Dharma and Adharma can be thought of as attributes either of the objects or of the Agent. The first view is untenable. For the objects being common to all and the spirit being all-pervading, all the objects will be experienced by all the subjects in the same way. Hence, unless the 'Dharma' and 'Adharma' become attributes of the self and thus bring about a distinct characteristic in it we cannot explain its peculiar experiences. According to the Naiyāyikas the Agent is a conscious entity. That is Self itself is the Agent. This is substantiated by our mental perception or 'mānasa pratyakṣa' 'चेतनोऽहं करोमि' 'I, as possessed of consci-

ousness, do this'. That is, consciousness and agency are experienced as co-existing. Udayana puts its thus कर्तृचैतन्ययोः सामानाधिकरण्येन अनुभवात्। The Sāṁkhyas say that this sort of feeling is an error of the non-apprehension of the difference. According to them while the Self is experience, conscious and inactive, the 'Buddhi' is insentient and active. Due to an error we think that the Self is the Agent and that the Buddhi is sentient. But the Naiyāyikas say that this contention is baseless whereas their view which is based on 'pratyakṣa', than which there is no mightier pramāṇa, is the only right one. Nor is this experience ever sublated.

If it were said that there is an inferential proof of its untenability, *i.e.*, Buddhi is not sentient because it undergoes modification like a jar, बुद्धिर्न चेतना परिणामित्वात् घटवत् the same could be said against its agency also. "The Buddhi is not an Agent and it undergoes change". Thus the Buddhi would be neither sentient nor Agent. The Sāṁkhya might argue that in our experience जानन्नहं करोमि, the Buddhi, as the substratum of knowledge, is also experienced as the seat of action.

ज्ञानाश्रयस्य (बुद्धेः) कृत्याश्रयत्वेन अनुभवात्।

and thus the above-mentioned inference advanced by the Naiyāyikas does not compromise his position. This also will not do, as the same defence can be advanced by the Naiyāyikas too. That is, in the mental perception which takes the form चेतनोऽहं करोमि, a conscious entity figures also as the seat of action. If it were said that the Agent cannot be sentient as it is an effect of an insentient entity, *viz.*, the Prakṛti, and thus the position taken that the Agent is conscious is contradicted, the inference is fallacious. Firstly, there is no authority for maintaining that the Agent is an effect. We as Agents are not effects. A newly born baby, who is quite innocent, spontaneously clings to the breast of its mother. This shows that in its former life it knew that clinging to and sucking one's mother's breasts appease one's hunger. This is seen in all the new born babies. This establishes the beginninglessness of the Agent. The aphorism of Gautama वीतरागजन्मादर्शनात् propounds the same doctrine. Moreover if all the characteristics of an effect were supposed to reside in the cause also, attachment etc. will also have to be admitted in the Prakṛti. Thus the same will have to be called Buddhi and not Prakṛti, because of

being characterised by the eight qualities of 'sukha', 'duḥkha' etc. If these qualities are said to exist in the Prakṛti in a subtle form, then consciousness also will have to be taken to exist in the Prakṛti in a subtle form. Thus the inference that Buddhi is insentient because it is an effect of insentient Prakṛti, does not hold good. Moreover there will arise the contingency of the objects like jar etc. also being possessed of consciousness. The qualities Rāga etc. will also have to be admitted as residing in jar etc. Thus the Saṁkāryavāda leads to all sorts of absurdities. Therefore we should accept that an effect having a particular jāti comes from a cause possessing another particular jāti and not that all the characteristics in a cause are reproduced in the effect also.

Besides all this, there is another major difficulty if we adopt the Sāṁkhya view of things. The fact of the bondage and the liberation of the individual becomes hard to explain. The Sāṁkhyas explain that because the Self thinks itself to be the Agent which in fact it is not and also because the Buddhi which is insentient by nature takes itself to be sentient, there is bondage. When, however, both come to realise their true nature, freedom for the self is assured. This view is beset with many difficulties. If the buddhi be eternal there can be no possibility of liberation with the Puruṣa. What is there to prevent the 'Buddhi' from ssociating itself with the Puruṣa? Thus says Udayana:—

यदि च बुद्धिर्नित्या अनिर्मोक्षप्रसंगः । पुंसः सर्वदा सोपाधित्वे स्वरूपेणानवस्थानात् ॥

If it be perishable it must have a beginning. A positive entity which is perishable must have an origin. Thus what was the determining factor prior to its origination as some determining factor of the individual's retributive experience there must have been. It cannot be Prakṛti for it is uniform for all. In this way there can be no 'creation' or 'bondage' of the self.

If the above difficulty is to be surmounted by saying that the residual impressions of the prior and still prior 'Buddhis' persits in the Prakṛti and thus the Prakṛti, though uniform by nature, ceases to be so, this goes against the basic principle of the Sāṁkhyas. For to say that even after the disappearance of Buddhi its attributes, *viz.*, the residual impres-

sions persist, is contrary to the doctrine that there is complete identity between the attribute and its substratum.

It will not do to argue that Buddhi exists in a subtle form and does not disappear and thus it can retain the residual impressions. For thus there can be no everlasting freedom. A free spirit can still undergo bondage. It cannot be held out that there is no such possibility of re-bondage as this Buddhi is not competent to rebind the Puruṣa. There being no vāsanā left now the Puruṣa need not have any apprehensions from the Buddhi. If it still be said that there is no need to postulate two different categories as Prakṛti and Buddhi and that the same Buddhi with competence remaining in a dormant state be called Prakṛti, there will then be no need to assume even other categories like Ahaṁkāra etc. The same Buddhi with different functions can be called by different names, in the same way as the vital air is given different names according as its functions undergo variations. The cessation of the activity of the Buddhi due to the cessation of its competence is freedom and its association with vāsanā or residual impressions is its competence. Therefrom proceeds creation.

Thus the Sāṁkhya being absolutely defeated tries to find fault with the Naiyāyikas. He says that if the Self is admitted as substratum of knowledge, action etc., its immutability is violated. The Self will be associated with different attributes and there being no absolute identity between the attribute and its substratum, the Self will be undergoing transformation all the time. This objection is not worth its salt. The Naiyāyikas maintain that there is absolute difference between the attribute and the substratum. This difference becomes patent when we take the following cases:—

I know.
I knew.
I shall know.

Here the knowledge refers to the past, present and future periods and yet the subject 'I' persists and its immutability is not violated. The fact of two things having the same substratum does not necessarily imply indentity between the two. This 'having the same substratum' or सामानाधिकरण्य may mean any of the following, 'being expressed by the same word' (समानशब्दवाच्यत्वम्), 'figuring in the same cognition' (एकज्ञानगोचरत्वम्), 'subsisting in the same time' (एकाधिकरणत्वम्), 'the

relation of the container and the contained' (आधाराधेयभाव), 'the relation of the attribute and the substratum' (विशेषणविशेष्यभाव) and 'mere relation' (संबंधमात्र). Some of these are possible only when there is absolute difference and some when there is indentity. Thus the immutability of the Self is not compromised.

This finally establishes the Naiyāyika view.

THE VṚTTIKĀRAGRANTHA

Regarding footnote 2 on p. 21 of the article on *Śabara and Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika*, where Dr. G. V. Devasthali says that the Vṛttikāra is "an author whose identily is as yet not definitely proved", attention may be drawn to the Journal of Oriental Research, Vol. I, pp. 283-286, where Dr. A. Sankaran shows in an article entitled 'Vṛttikāragrantha' that this Vṛttikāra is Upavārṣa.

V. R.

THE HANUMAD VIṂŚATI OF LAKṢMĪKUMĀRA TĀTĀCĀRYA

BY

SRI G. HARIHARA SASTRI AND DR. V. RAGHAVAN

The family of Tātācāryas took a leading part in popularising Śrīvaiṣṇavism in South India, particularly in the post-Rāmānuja period. Tradition, as set forth in the Prapannāmṛta,[1] has it that Śrīśailapūrṇa or Periya Tirumalai Nambi, the founder of this family, taught the Rāmāyaṇa to Śrī Rāmānuja, his nephew; the name Tātācārya, by which his descendants are known, was first borne by him; he was daily bringing water for bathing God Veṅkaṭeśa at Tirupati from the Ākāśagaṅgā on the same range of hills at some distance; once to test him, God Veṅkaṭeśa took the form of a young boy in thirst and requested him to give away the Abhiṣeka-water he was carrying; as God in the form of the young boy addressed Śrīśailapūrṇa as Tāta (father or grandfather), he came to be known from that time as Tātācārya.[2] Śrīsaila was held in high esteem by the Śrīvaiṣṇavas and a shrine was also dedicated to him in the Tirupati temple. His son Kurukeśa or Śaṭhakopācārya wrote the commentary called the Āṟāyirappaḍi on the Tiruvāymoḻi.

Śiṅgarācārya, i.e. Narasiṁhācārya, and his younger brother Śrīraṅgācārya, the sixth descendants from Kurukeśa, were specialists in the exposition of the Rāmāyaṇa. They settled at Ēṭṭūr (Kṛṣṇa Dt.) and are said to have freed the Vijayanagar emperor Virūpākṣa of the harassment caused

1. *See* Gopinatha Rao, *EI.* XII, 1913-14, pp. 162-3 and Sources of Vijayanagar History, Madras University, pp. 72, 73, 77. The Prapannāmṛta was itself written by a pupil of the grandson of Lakṣmīkumāra Tātācārya.

Besides, we have on the history of this family the Tātayāryavaibhavaprakāśikā in ms. (*see* Madras Govt. Ori. Mss. Library, D. No. 10549 which is unfortunately fragmentary) and the Lakṣmīkumārodaya by a decendant of the family, Raṅganātha Tātācārya of Kumbhakonam (Printed, Grantha, Kumbhakonam 1912).

2. For the story, *see* canto 3, Lakṣmīkumārodaya. Verse 5 in the Inscription below alludes to it.

by the ghosts of persons murdered by him. They also won over the king to Rāma-bhakti and Śrīvaiṣṇavism with their exposition of the Rāmāyaṇa.

The ninth in descent from these two brothers was Pañcamatabhañjanam Tā ācārya, a contemporary of Vādhūla Doḍḍayācārya or Mahācārya, author of the Caṇḍamāruta, and of Appayya Dīkṣita. According to the poem Lakṣmīkumārodaya, this Pañcamatabhañjanam Tātā ārya was the second of the three sons of Kandanūr Śrīnivāsa Tātācārya who was nineteenth from Nāthamuni; his elder brother was Veṅkaṭācārya, and younger brother Sundarācārya; 'Pañcamatabhañjanam' was a title gained by him in his scholarly controversy in which he defeated his opponent.

The youngest brother Sundarācārya had a son named Tātācārya whom Goddess Lakṣmī herself is said to have nursed, thus giving him the name Lakṣmīkumāra.[1] This Lakṣmīkumāra Tātācārya was adopted as his son by his junior paternal uncle Pañcamatabhañjana Tātācārya.[2] He was thus an younger contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita and is the same Tātācārya who is associated with the hymn Nigral āṣṭaka composed by Appayya Dīkṣita. A number of inscriptions mention him as the guru of Veṅkaṭapati I (1585-1614 A.D.), as having officiated at his coronation and honoured by the king by the offer of the whole kingdom. He held the office of the superintendent of temples in the kingdom, Śrī-Kārya-dhuramdhara, with a number of dependents under him. Inscription 354 of 1919 tells us that he built the vimāna of gold at Śrī Veṅkaṭeśa temple at Tirupati;[3] he weighed himself against gold and silver and made use of that money for service at Śrī Varadarāja's temple at Conjeevaram (363 of 1919); at Conjeevaram again, he repaired the Puṇyakoṭi-vimāna built by Kṛṣṇadevarāya, constructed a vimāna of his own named Kalyāṇakoṭi for goddess Lakṣmī (363 of 1919 and 653 of 1919), made various vāhanas for the deity in gold and silver

1. *See* Lakṣmīkumārodaya, Canto 10, verse 64.

2. But Sri Sadhu Subrahmanya Sastri, in the Tirupati Devasthanam Epigraphy Report, 1930, p. 313, argues on the basis of inscriptions at Tirupati and Conjeevaram that Pañcamatabhañjanam Tātācārya and Koṭikanyādānam Tātācārya are probably identical.

3. Śaka 1492 (?)

and founded an agrahāra for Brāhmans. He gave liberally to the poor, particularly for celebrating marriages of their daughters, which earned for him the title 'Koṭikanyādāram.'[1] He dug also the tanks Tīrtha-samudra and Tāta-samudra (Ayyaṅgār-kulam) with the latter of which we are concerned here. (475 of 1919; 64 of 1923).

On the banks of this tank Tātasamudra, Tātācārya built a temple for Hanumān, composed a hymn called the Hanumad-viṁśati on the deity and caused it to be engraved on the walls of this temple. A copy of this hymn is found in the Mackenzie Manuscripts (Miscellaneous inscriptions, No. 50, p. 252), Oriental Mss. Library, Madras. This inscription is identical with No. 93 of 1923 (ARE. Madras), described as found on the west wall of the Āñjaneya temple at Ayyaṅgār-kulam (Tātasamudra). This was the original, but the hymn was re-engraved on the north, west and south walls of the shrine of the Goddess (Tāyār) in the Varadarāja temple, Conjeevaram (ARE. Madras 651 of 1919), as also on the east and north walls of the 'rock' and the outermost gopura, right of the entrance. The hymn itself is but a modest effort, and its repeated engraving at Conjeevaram gives us an idea of the importance enjoyed at that place by this great Ācārya.

The text as recovered from the copy in the Mackenzie records has a few gaps and corruptions and these have been restored by collating this text with those found in the inscriptions 93 of 1923 and 651 of 1919. 93 of 1923 which is the original of the Mackenzie copy is in clear and bold Grantha characters. The latter epigraph which is also in a Grantha characters, but not so clear or bold as in the previous one, is in the Goddess-shrine in the Varadarāja temple. In two places, this text itself shows gaps, and at the end, it does not carry the two verses (23 and 24) found in 93 of 1923 and its Mackenzie copy, which are clearly an extraneous addition.

In some of the verses, the hymn refers to the tank as called after Goddess Lakṣmī also, Ramā-taṭāka. A reference to the poem Lakṣmīkumārodaya shows that the tank Tāta-

1. According to the second of the two additional verses bearing on the Kalyāna-koṭi-vimāna built by this Tātācārya, found in 93 of 1923 and the Mack. copy of the Hanumad-viṁśati, the place got the name Kalyāṇa-koṭi because of the numberless marriages celebrated there. *See* below text, last verse.

samudra[1] had a pavilion in the centre within which was a well, Vāpī, called after Goddess Lakṣmī; this explains how the same tank is referred to both as Tātasamudra and Ramā-taṭāka.

Our thanks are due to the Govt. Epigraphist, Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, and Sri H. K. Narasimhasvami of his department for permitting and helping us to consult the estampages of the two above mentioned inscriptions.

॥ लक्ष्मीकुमारतातार्यकृता

हनुमद्विंशतिः ॥

*I [2]गुणाभिरामामिन्दिराकुमारतातवारिधि-
प्रसिद्धिमद्रमातटाकतीरसीम्नि मारुतिम् ।
मुदाधिरुह्य माधवो वृषाचलस्थलादपि
प्रकल्पते निकाममत्र पालनाय देहिनाम् ॥ १ ॥

अधिरुह्य रघूद्वहो हरिं प्रागरिशिक्षाम[3]कृताधुना तु सोऽयम् ।
कृततातसमुद्रतीरकेलिं तमधिष्ठाय तनोति दीनरक्षाम् ॥ २ ॥

कर्मानुरुध्य वृषभूभृति यः करोति
नृणां हितानि स तु तन्निरपेक्ष एव ।
यत्सर्वमिष्टमिह पुष्यति वेङ्कटेश-
[4]स्तद्वैभवं किल रमात्मजतातसिंधोः ॥ ३ ॥

1. According to this poem, Tātācārya was inspired to dig this tank by the episode of the lake of Pañca-apsaras in the Rāmāyaṇa.

* Numbers (I), (II). etc. refer to the pieces of the estampage-sheets in Ins. 651 of 1919.

2. Both Ins. have at the outset स्वस्तिश्रीः ।

3 Mack. copy corrupt and broken here; reads-मुधुक्...सोऽयम्।

4. त indistinct in Ins. 651 of 1919.

क्रीडासरः किमपि तातसमुद्रनाम
लक्ष्म्याः प्रसन्नलघु(III)शीतलमर्पयन्त्याः ।
अन्यद्विधेयमनवेक्ष्य [1]सुतानमुष्याः
प्रीत्यै मुरारिरवति प्लवगाधिरूढः ॥ ४ ॥

श्रीशैलपूर्णमवति स्म घटाम्बुहृद्यो
यः पूर्वमञ्जनगिरौ स पुमानिदानीम् ।
स्थित्वा समीरभुवि पाति रमाकुमार-
ताताम्बुराशिमुदितो जनमैन्दिरेयम् ॥ ५ ॥[2]

हरिः पुरा मामधिरुह्य दारुणं
चकार कर्मेति समीरज(IV)न्मनः ।
शुचं निराकर्तुमिवाश्रितः स तं
शुभं नृणां सौति रमासरस्तटे[3] ॥ ६ ॥

शौरे रमातनयतातसमुद्रतीरे
भावस्तटादपि भवात्मजपुष्करिण्याः[4] ।
[5]सन्तन्वते हि पुरु(Ia)षाः समदर्शिनोऽपि
प्रायेण सूनुषु निजेष्वपि पक्षपातम् ॥ ७ ॥

1. Mack. सता-

2. Śl. 5. Añjanagiri=Tirupati Hills. Sa Pumān refers to God Viṣṇu. The first half refers to the incident in the life of Śrīśailapūrṇa, the ancestor of the Tātācārya family, which has been mentioned above; Śrī Śailapūrṇa offered but a pot of water; his descendant however offered a whole tank. Aindireya jana= Lakṣmīkumāra Tātācārya.

3. टे effaced in Ins. 651 of 1919. The dāruṇam karma referred to in lines 1 and 2 is the battle in Laṅkā.

4. Skandapuṣkariṇī, the sacred tank at Tirupati on whose banks God Venkaṭeśa stands.

5. Ia North wall.

श्लाघ्यतरक्षीरभृतोः श्रीतातसमुद्रयोरियान् भेदः[1] ।
निद्राति तत्र नित्यं श्रीपतिरनुकूलमस्य जागर्ति ॥ ८ ॥

[2]फणिसरसीतटभागादधिको ल(II a-b)क्ष्मीसरस्तटाभोगः ।
गजवरदः किल तस्मिन् क्रीडति हरिरत्र सर्ववरदायी ॥ ९ ॥

रामचन्द्रोदयारम्भे यस्सुवेलातिवर्तनम् ।
चक्रे समुद्रस्तं वन्दे श्रीसरस्तीरपावनिम् ॥ १० ॥

केसरिप्रमदागर्भजन्मनापि विनिर्ममे ।
सिंहिकाविजयो येन स श्रीसरसि मोदते ॥ ११ ॥

तटसीमनि तातसिन्धुबन्धोरमितं क्रीडति भाग्यमङ्गनायाः ।
अकरोत्सहसा यदक्षशिक्षां नियमेनैव निजेन बाहुधाम्ना ॥ १२ ॥

नमत रमाकमलाकरलहरीपरिवाहसरणिवास्तव्यम् ।
हरिसार्वभौममानतभरणोद्यतशौरिभारधौरेयम् ॥ १३ ॥

(III a-b)
निजतनुकनकाद्रिमेत्य नाथे विहरति वल्लभया समं प्रहृष्टे ।
हरिरवति जगन्ति तातसिन्धोरधितटमात्मसुभृत्यता[3]नुरूपम् ॥ १४ ॥

चतुर्भुजः श्रीसरसीहरीन्द्रहरतेन दत्ते वरमाश्रितानाम् ।
यदर्थिने[4] भृत्यमुखेन दानं प्रायः प्रभूणां प्रकृतिस्वभावः ॥ १५ ॥

इदं [5]प्रकर्षाय हरेर्यदार्तान् संरक्षति श्रीसरसीहनूमान् ।
महेश्वराणां महते गुणाय प्रकल्पते भृत्यजनप्रभावः ॥ १६ ॥

(*IV a-b)
श्रीसूनुतातगुरुसिन्धुतटाङ्गनेये संप्रत्यशेषजनतावनजागरूके ।
लक्ष्म्या हरिर्विहरते सततं यदेष[6] सीतावियोगदिनक्लृप्त[7]तपोविलासः ॥ १७

1. Śleṣa alaṁkāra. Kṣīra=milk and water ; Śrī-tāta-samudra=Ocean who was father of Śrī, *i.e.*, from which Śrī arose, and the tank Tātasamudra.

2. Mack. फणिपति which is hypermetric.

3. Mack. द्वयता । 4. Mack. अर्थिनां.

5. Mack. प्रहर्षाय *(IV a-b) on South Wall.

6. Mack. य एष. । 7. Mack. कूप

प्रायस्तुल्यः[1] पादुकायामिहापि न्यासस्सीतानायकाङ्घ्रेस्तथापि[2] ।
धात्रीरक्षां सा ततानेति किं वा लोकान् पाति श्रीतटाकाङ्गनेयः ॥१८॥

इन्दिरासुहृदभेदभावनासन्ततेरिव तदात्मतां वहन्[3] ।
तन्तनीति कमलासरस्तटीगन्धवाहतनयो जनावनम् ॥ १९ ॥

नारायणीयेन महो[4]भरेण नटत्प्रकर्षो[5] जगतां त्रयाणाम् ।
करोति रक्षां कलशाब्धिकन्यासरस्तटीमारुतिसार्वभौमः ॥ २० ॥

कंसारितेजोभरवैभवेन संसारिणामेष तनोति[6] रक्षाम् ।
रमासरस्यां[7] रघुवीरसेनानासीरसीमाभटसार्वभौमः ॥ २१ ॥

इतीन्दिरातटाकतीर[8]वायुसूनुविंशतिं
रमाकुमारतातयायेनिर्मितां पठन्ति ये ।
धनं यशो बलं सुतानरोगतायुषी सुखं[9]
[10]लभेयुरेव मानवाः कृपाभराद्रमापतेः[11] ॥ २२ ॥

यथा हरिर्भासुरपुण्यकोट्यां यथा च गौरी वरकामकोट्याम् ।
तथा महोदारकुमारतातकल्याणकोट्यां कमला समिन्धे[12] ॥ २३ ॥

कुर्वन्ति[13] ब्राह्मणानां तु कल्याणशतमन्वहम् ।
तस्मात्कल्याणकोटीति सत्यनामा प्रकाशते ॥ २४ ॥

शुभमस्तु हनूमद्विंशतिः

1. Mack. -ल:
2. Mack. सितानायकरङ्घ्रेः
3. -तेरिव तदात्मतां वहन् missing in Ins. 651 of 1919.
4. Mack. मनो
5. Mack. प्रहर्षः
6. -सरिणोमेष तनोति missing in Ins. 651 of 1919.
7. Mack. सरस्थः
8. Mack. सूनु
9. Mack. अरोगतायुरक्षयम्
10. लभेयुः ungrammatical.
11. The text in the epigraph 651 of 1919 ends here; that in 93 of 1923 and the Mack. Copy has two more verses, which are evidently added by another at the time of engraving this original.
12. Mack. कमलाविलासः
13. कुर्वन्ती in 93 of 1923. Ungrammatical.

THE COUNTRY OF SAPĀDALAKSHA

BY

N. LAKSHMINARAYAN RAO, *Ootacamund.*

The Kannaḍa poet Pampa of the 10th century A.D., while giving the genealogy of his patron Arikēsarin II in his work *Vikramārjunavijaya* states that Yuddhamalla I, an early ancestor of Arikēsarin, was the ruler of the Sapādalaksha country.[1] This fact is also recorded in the undated Vēmu'avāḍa inscription of Arikēsarin II[2] and in the Parbhaṇī copper-plate grant of Arikēsarin III dated Śaka 888 (=A.D. 966).[3] Where was this country? The object of this short note is to ascertain its location by means of evidence afforded by epigraphy, though attempts have already been made to identify it on historical considerations and literary testimony.

Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri in his valuable paper on the Chālukyas of Vēmulavāḍa[4] has, in his masterly way, dealt with the genealogy of this line of kings and the part they played in the history of the Deccan. In the course of his discussion on the territory over which these rulers held sway he has suggested that the Sapādalaksha country which Yuddhamalla I was governing might be Śākambharī, *i.e.*, Sāmbhar in Eastern Rajaputana, to which the name of Sapādalaksha is usually applied. Since this tract was far removed from parts of Hyderabad connected with the activities of this family, he would assume that Yuddhamalla was governing Sapādalaksha as a subordinate of the Rāshṭrakūṭa king Dantidurga who, he believes, should have captured Eastern Rajaputana during his campaigns in the north. Thus it is the memory of this adventure, according to Professor Sastri, that was carefully treasured in the annals of the family.

1. *Vikramārjunavijaya* or *Pampa Bhārata* (Karnataka Sahitya Parishad edition, 1931), Canto I, v. 16.

2. *J.A.H.R.S.*, Vol. VI, pp. 169 ff. and plate.

3. *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan* by G. H. Khare, Vol. II (1934), pp. 34 ff. and plate.

4. *Journal of the Madras University*, Vol. XV, No. 2 (1944), pp. 101 ff.

Dr. N. Venkata Ramanayya has also discussed this question in his learned article on the Rāshṭrakūṭa conquest of Sapādalaksha.[1] After pointing out that there were a number of territories in India which went by the appellation of Sapādalaksha, he avers that the only country which would be appropriately called by this name in the 9th century A. D., the period in which Yuddhamalla I of the Vēmulavāḍa branch of the Chāḷukyas flourished, was Śākambharī. He thus accepts the identification proposed by Professor Sastri.

Long before these savants took up this question for consideration, my Assistant, Mr. M. Venkataramayya, had started an enquiry into it, though indirectly, while trying to locate the region of Aśmaka mentioned in early literature, both Hindu and Buddhist, as well as in inscriptions.[2] He came to the conclusion that Aśmaka whose capital was Pōdana and Sapādalaksha in which apparently this place was situated were to be looked for round about the Nizamabad and Karimnagar Districts in the Hyderabad State. He based this surmise on the statement of Śrutasāgarasūri who, in his commentary on the Sanskrit *Champū-kāvya, Yasastilaka* of Sōmadēvasūri, a court poet of Baddega, the son of Arikēsarin II, explains that the chief or prince Aśmantaka figuring in the latter work was the resident of the mountain region of Sapādalaksha.[3]

I had to study this problem in connection with my work on the inscriptions of Vēmulavāḍa which I copied some time ago and which I am editing for the Hyderabad Archaeological Department. One of these records which is in the Kannaḍa language affords a definite clue for locating this territorial division. It refers itself to the reign of the Chāḷukya king Tribhuvanamalla, *i.e.*, Vikramāditya VI and is dated in Chāḷukya-Vikrama year 8, Rudhirōdgārin (=A.D. 1083-4). His feudatory *Mahāmaṇḍalēśvara* Rājāditya is stated therein to be governing a portion of the Savalakhkhe province and Chabbi twenty-one-thousand district from the *nelevīḍu* of Lēmbuḷavāḍe which is described as the *rājadhāni*.[4]

1. *Dr. Kunhan Raja Presentation Volume* (1946), pp. 113 ff.
2. *J.O.R.*, Vol. XII (1938), p. 264.
3. *Yaśastilakam* (*Kāvyamālā Series*, No. 70), 1916, p. 188.
4. *Savalakhkheya bhāgamumaṁ Chabbiy-irppattondu-sāsiramumaṁ dushṭa-nigraha-śishṭa-pratipālanadiṁ paripāḷisuttum rājadhāni Lēmbuḷavāḍeya nelevīḍinoḷ sukha-saṁkathā-vinōdadiṁ rājyaṁ-geyyuttum=irddu.*

This statement makes it clear that Savalakhkhe, which is but a Kannaḍa rendering of Sapādalaksha, was within easy reach, for purposes of administration, of Lēmbulapāṭaka. Now it is wellknown that Lēmbulapāṭaka is no other than Vēmulavāḍa in the Karimnagar District of the Hyderabad State, the find-spot of the inscription under reference. It is thus evident that the country of Sapādalaksha was situated not far from the Karimnagar District. In this connection it is worth remembering that both the Kannaḍa poet and the Sanskrit inscription of Arikēsarin II at Vēmulavāḍa glorify the fact that Yuddhamalla I, the lord of Sapādalaksha, had his elephants bathed in wells filled with oil at Pōdana (Pampa spells it Bōdana). This would show that Pōdana, *i.e.*, modern Bodhan in the Nizamabad district was included in the dominions of Yuddhamalla; and, be it noted, Nizamabad and Karimnagar are adjacent districts. According to the inscription of Vikramāditya noticed above, Rājāditya was also governing Chabbi twenty-one-thousand, which was obviously in the neighbourhood of Sapādalaksha. The Parbhaṇī plates of Arikēsarin III register a grant of the village Vanikaṭupula situated in Rēpāka twelve, a sub-division of Sabbi one-thousand.[1] This same district of Sabbi one-thousand is mentioned in the Daulatabad plates of the Western Chālukya king Jagadēkamalla II which tells us that the division of Āṭkūru seventy was included in it.[2] In the Palampet pillar inscription of Kākatīya Rudradēva,[3] Rēcherla Rudra is stated to have built temples at Āṭukūru after which this division seems to have been named and it has been identified with a place of that name about ten miles north-east of Warangal.[4] We learn from the Anmakoṇḍa inscription of Kākatīya Prōla[5] that Vikramāditya VI conferred the district of Sabbi one-thousand on Tribhuvanamalla Bēta, one of the ancestors of Prōla. The late Mr. H. Krishna Sastri who has edited this inscription is of the opinion that Anmakoṇḍa and Warangal might have been included in the Sabbi-sāyira district. Mr. G. H. Khare identifies Rēpāka mentioned in the Parbhaṇī plates of Arikēsarin III as the headquarters of

1. See text-lines 40-1.
2. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 2, p. 8, text-line 70.
3. *Hyderabad Archaeological Series*, No. 3, p. 11, text-line 200.
4. See map published in the monograph.
5. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, p. 258.

Rēpāka twelve in Sabbi one-thousand with a village of the same name in the Karimnagar District.[1] Sabbi-sāyira was evidently a smaller division in the bigger province of Chabbi twenty-one-thousand referred to above. If this surmise is correct, part of the Warangal district on the south-east may be said to have been situated in this province besides a portion of Karimnagar. It can therefore be taken as established beyond doubt that Savalakhkhe (Sapādalaksha), mentioned along with Chabbi twenty-one-thousand in the Vēmulavāḍa Kannaḍa inscription, comprised at least the central and eastern portions of the present Hyderabad State, *i.e.*, Nizamabad and a major portion of Karimnagar districts, though its actual extent and boundaries cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge.[2]

1. *Sources of the Mediaeval History of the Deccan*, Vol. II (1934), p. 35. There are two villages of the name Rēpāka in the Karimnagar District.

2. As already pointed out, Mr. Venkataramayya had thrown out a hint indicating this identification.

THE BEE-AND-SPRING MAXIM

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The gift portion of an inscription from Dōṇi,[1] Muṇḍargi Pēṭhā, Dharwar District, contains the following passage; 'adarkke *aḷi-vasata-nyāyaṁ* chakravarttiya sēse modalāgi sarbba-bādhā-parihāra—'. It means, 'the gift-land should be exempted from all impositions, such as the sovereign's levy, etc., according to the maxim of '*aḷi-vasata-nyāya*'. A similar passage is met with in a similar context in another inscription[2] from the same village; it is like this; 'ant=ā-tōṭakkaṁ keygam=*aḷi-vasata-nyāyaṁ* chakravarttiya sēse modalāgi sarbba-bādhā-parihāra—'. This extract again refers to the exemptions on the garden and the field, which were the subject of the grant, and cites the maxim of the *aḷi-vasata-nyāya.* One more epigraph which was originally at Kukanur in the Kopbal District, but later on removed to the Madras Museum,[3] has the following clause in the same context, 'śrī-sāsirvargge pāda-pūjeyaṁ goṭṭu siddhāya bhattāya *vasata-nyāyam*=emḅuv=oṁdum vāgad=ent=ā-sarvvābādhā-parihāra—'. Its purport will be like this: 'the land was bestowed upon the illustrious One Thousand (representatives) after worshipping their feet and it was exempted from one and all impositions such as *siddhāya* and *bhattāya,* according to the maxim of *vasata-nyāya*'.

It is clear from the above extracts that they contain reference to a *nyāya* or maxim which is one and the same in all the three cases, though only a portion of it has been retained in the last passage, evidently through the ignorance of the composer or the engraver. The maxim is *Ali-vasata-nyāya;* and as this seems to be a slightly corrupt form, its correct version should be 'Ali-vasanta Nyāya'. I have not come across any more references to this *nyāya* in the epigraphical literature. It is further interesting to note that this *nyāya* seems to be

1. *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy,* 1927-28, Appendix F, No. 75.
2. *Ibid.,* No. 78.
3. *S. I. I.,* Vol. IX, part I, No. 162.

new and hitherto unknown in Sanskrit literature also.[1] Its literal translation would be 'the bee-and-spring maxim'.

What is the interpretation of this *Nyāya*? 'When the flowers blossom in spring the bees come and take away the sweet honey. Similarly, many are the claims on the yielding land in the form of several dues collected from it. But the gift land is to be exempted from all these'. This interpretation suits the context in all the cases under reference.

The three inscriptions containing the above references are dated in A. D 1080, 1098 and 1093 respectively and their provenance shows that they are confined to a small region of Karnāṭaka comprising the adjoining areas of the Dharwar District of the Bombay State and the Kopbal District of the Hyderabad State. It is really strange that this interesting maxim should have been current in the specified tract in a particular period only and that it should have otherwise remained unknown. Kukanur was a great centre of Sanskrit learning in the mediaeval age and its One Thousand Mahājanas were reputed for their scholarship as revealed by the contents of a good many epigraphs found in this place.[2] The credit of preserving and giving currency to this maxim which must have been in use once in Sanskrit literature, probably goes to these learned men of the great *agrahāra* of Kukkanūr (modern Kukanur).

1. I have ransacked available notices of the *nyāyas* in Sanskrit literature and also consulted some learned Sanskrit scholars.

2. These inscriptions are unpublished and form part of my private epigraphical collection.

DOMINIONS OF THE ŚULKĪS OF ORISSA

BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund.*

The inscriptions of the Śulkī rulers of Orissa have come mostly from Dhenkanal and a few from the neighbouring localities such as Talcher and Hindol. Their dominions thus appear to have comprised the Dhenkanal area together with some of the adjoining regions. The kings of this family assumed subordinate titles and epithets such as *Rāṇaka* and *Samadhigata-pañcha-mahāśabda,* although in some records these are found along with the imperial titles *Mahārājādhirāja* and *Parama-bhaṭṭāraka.* The use of a combination of feudatory and imperial titles and epithets appears to point to the fact that the Śulkī kings were semi-independent rulers owing nominal allegiance to an imperial family. As regards the identity of the overlords of the Śulkī kings, the Dhenkanal inscription of Śulkī Raṇastambha,[1] which is probably the earliest epigraphic record of the family, seems to give us a clue. This is the only record of the family dated according to an era, all other inscriptions of the Śulkī kings being either undated or dated according to the regnal reckoning. The date of the Dhenkanal plate of Raṇastambha was read by H. P. Sastri as the year 33, while D. R. Bhandarkar suggested 203. I am inclined to read the date as the year 103. Whatever, however, be the correct reading of the date, there is little doubt that the era, to which it has to be referred, is the same as that used in the records of the imperial rulers of the Bhauma-Kara family of ancient Orissa. This no doubt points to the fact that the Śulkīs owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas who had their head-quarters at Virajas and Guheśvara-pāṭaka both possibly being different names of modern Jajpur on the Vaitaraṇī river in the Cuttack district of Orissa. The feudatory position of the Śulkīs suggests that their dominions could have hardly comprised wide regions of Orissa, not to speak of any territory outside Orissa. The Jārāgrāma grant[2] of Raṇastambha, however, has been taken to

1. H. P. Sastri, *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol, II, pp. 397-400; D. R. Bhandarkar, *A List of Inscriptions of Northern India,* No. 1697.

2. H. P. Sastri, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 168-171; D. R. Bhandarkar, *op. cit.*, No. 1696.

prove that the dominions of the Śulkī kings of Orissa included wide areas of south-west Bengal as far as the Bhāgīrathī or the Hooghly river.

As regards the village, a portion of which was granted by Śulkī Raṇastambha in favour of a Brāhmaṇa named Pāchuka (not *Pauchuka* as read by Sastri), Sastri says "The land was granted in the district of Jārā and in the village of Jārā in the Rāḍha country. There is such a village in the district of Hughli bordering on the district of Midnapur both of which belong to Rāḍha or Western Bengal. It is still the abode of a number of well-to-do families of Brāhmaṇas. But it would be worth investigating how the Śulkīs came to acquire land in this part of the country. There is an influential body of cultivating middlemen in Midnapur who call themselves Śuklī and trace their origin to a place called Kedālaka. But Raṇastambhadeva, the donor, was a Śulkī and his capital was Kodāloka. Can there be any connection between Śulkī and Śuklī and between Kodālaka and Kedālaka?"[1] It must be admitted that Sastri offered the suggestion in a considerably guarded language, although, as will be shown below, his contention that the village of Jārā was situated, according to the inscription, in the Rāḍha country is absolutely unwarranted. It is, however, an unfortunate feature of Indian historical research that an unwarranted suggestion, casually offered by one writer, is passed by a follower of his as an undoubted and established historical truth. This has happened also in regard to the above suggestion of Sastri, which has been represented by R. D. Banerji in his *History of Orissa*[2] as a fully established fact. Banerji begins with the passage. "As proved by my teacher Mahāmahopādhyāya Dr. Hara Prasād Śāstrī," and concludes "The Śulkīs therefore belonged to Northern Orissa which once contained the modern district of Midnapur." Thus according to this author, it was already "proved" that the Śulkī dominions extended at least from the Cuttack district of Orissa up to the Midnapur and Hoogly districts of Bengal.

We quote below the relevant passage of the Jārāgrāma grant of Raṇastambha to show the nature of the evidence that has been taken to prove the above theory

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. IV, pp. 168-9.
2. Vol. I, pp. 125-6.

about the extent of the Śulkī dominions. Lines 15-19 of the inscription read: *viditam=astu bhavatām Jārā-khaṇḍe Jārāgrāme pūrva-dakshiṇa-diśābhāge Chakalika-bhūmi chatu-sīmā-paryanta pūrva-diśe Stambhakāra-kshetra-sima utara-diśe Āhāra-Dakshiṇādi-sima paśchima-diśē joḍa-sima dakshiṇa-diśe Chinta-bhūmi-sima ete chatu-sīmā-paryanta Rāḍhā-maṇḍale Tellaṁgala-bhaṭṭa-grāma-vinirgata-Kaśyapa-gōtra°*, etc. Any careful student of Indian epigraphy will at once notice from the passage quoted that the donee (the Brāhmaṇa Pāchuka) belonged to a Kāśyapa-gotrīya family that originally hailed from the *Bhaṭṭa-grāma* called Tellaṁgala which was situated in the Rāḍhā *maṇḍala* and that Raḍhā-maṇḍala itself had nothing to do with Jārāgrāma in the Jārā *khaṇḍa*. As a matter of fact, in the charters of early Indian kings, the name of the district precedes that of the village included in it, and is not put, as in this case, after describing the boundaries of the land granted. Of course the seventh case-ending in *Rāḍhā-maṇḍalē* must have led Sastri to take this expression with *Jārā-khaṇḍe Jārā-grāme* mentioned earlier rather than with *Tellaṁgala-bhaṭṭa-grāma°* ; but there are innumerable cases of *sāpeksha samāsas* of this kind in epigraphic literature.[1] Numerous other records of the Orissa region have exactly similar passages; *e. g., Śrāvastyāṁ Muktāvathī-grāma-vinirgatāya* in the Kalibhana plates[2] and *Rāḍhāyāṁ Vallikandara vinirgatāya* in the Sonepur plates[3], both belonging to the Somavaṁśī king Mahāśivagupta I Janamejaya. There is no doubt that the donee Pāchuka was a Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇa settled in Orissa. We have similar other cases of Brāhmaṇas migrating from Rāḍhā or Rāḍha in South-west Bengal and flocking to the courts of ancient Orissan rulers.[4]

A very interesting fact about these Rāḍhīya Brāhmaṇas is that often they are represented as students of a Veda other than the Sāmaveda. It is well known that all Rāḍhīya

1. Cf. *Select Inscriptions* , Vol. I, pp. 175-7, 179, 278, 406, etc. and notes.

2. *I.H.Q.*, Vol. XX, p. 247 and note 6.

3. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XI, p. 94. B. C. Majumdar read the passage wrongly as *Rāḍhāphaṁvallikandara°*, took it to be a place name and identified it with modern Rehrakhol in Orissa.

4. Cf. e. g. *Ep. Ind., loc. cit.*; Jurerpur plate of Devānanda edited by me in the *Ep. Ind.* (in the press), etc.

Brāhmaṇas now claim to be students of the Sāmaveda and this is supported by the traditions recorded in the Bengal *Kula-pañjikās*. This evidence in regard to the unreliability of the *Kula-pañjikās* and modern traditions as sources of the social history of ancient and medieval Bengal may now be added to the points raised by me elsewhere[1] in connection with the problem in question.

1. *Select Inscriptions, loc cit.*, pp. 498-500.

NEW FACTS ABOUT THE BHAUMA-KARAS

BY

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund.*

About the end of May 1950, I received for examination a copper-plate inscription from Mr. C. M. Āchārya, the learned Vice-Chancellor of the Utkal University, Cuttack, through the Registrar of the said institution. On examination, it was found that the inscription records a charter of king Śubhākara II of the Bhauma (called Kara in the later records of the family) dynasty of ancient Orissa. The king of this name is known from two copper-plate grants so far published. The first of these is the Hindol plate which was originally published by Pandit Binayak Misra in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Vol. XVI, pp. 69-83. A revised text of the inscription was later published by the same scholar in his *Orissa under the Bhauma-Kings*, Calcutta, 1934, pp. 12-20. Unfortunately even this corrected text of the inscription, as published by Pandit Misra, is not completely free from errors. The Hindol plate now belongs to the Utkal University's valuable collection of antiquities and I had an opportunity to examine it a few months ago through the kindness of Mr. C. M. Āchārya. The second of the two inscriptions of the king is the Dharakota plate published originally by Mr. Satyanārāyaṇa Rājaguru in the *Journal of the Andhr Historical Research Society*, Vol. IV, pp. 189-94. A portion of the record has been quoted by Pandit Misra in his book referred to above (pp. 21-22). The text of this record is remarkably similar to that of the Hindol plate. The year of the issue of the two records was also the same—year 103. The Hindol plate is dated in the year 103 Śrāvaṇa śudi 7, while the Dharakota plate has the date, year 103 Bhādrapada śudi 7. The second charter was thus issued only a month later than the first grant. An interesting palaeographical peculiarity of the number 103 written in the two records is that while the Dharakota plate writes it as 100+3, the Hindol plate puts it rather unusually as 100+0+3. The cypher used in the Hindol plate between the unit and hundred symbols no doubt indicates the absence of the ten element in the number and is due to the influence of the decimal notation which was gradually becoming popular in other parts of India even before the days of the Bhauma-Karas of Orissa. It is interesting to note in this connection that the new copper-plate record under discussion

exhibits the same palaeographical peculiarity in writing the year of the date. The grant is dated in the year 100; but it is written as 100+0. The present charter was issued about three years before the Hindol and Dharakota plates.

In a paper contributed some years ago to the *Journal of the Kaliṅga Historical Research Society*, Vol. II, pp 103-05, I discussed the history of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty of ancient Orissa. It is now well known that Śubhākara, otherwise called Siṁhaketu (or Siṁhadhvaja) and Kasumahāra II, was the son of Śāntikara I (*alias* Gayāḍa I and Lalitahāra I) of the Khaṇḍagiri cave inscription (Misra, *op. cit.*, p. 10) and the Dhauli cave inscription of the year 93 (*loc. cit.* p. 11) who was the son of the celebrated king Śubhākara I. The Hindol and Dharakota plates describe king Śubhākara as the son of king Śāntikara I by the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī who is said to have been the ornament of the Nāg-odbhava-kula probably meaning the Nāga family. It is also wellknown that, owing apparently to the untimely death of king Śubhākara, his mother Tribhuvanamahādevī ascended the throne and ruled the Bhauma-Kara dominions for several years during the minority of her son's son Śāntikara II (*alias* Gayāḍa II and Loṇabhāra or Lavaṇabhāra). The Dhenkanal plate of Tribhuvanamahādevī (*loc. cit.*, pp. 23-31) herself gives some additional informations about the family in which the queen was born. It says that queen Tribhuvanamahādevī, also called Siddhagaurī, was the daughter of the illustrious Rājamalladeva who was the *Dakshiṇ-āśā-mukha-tiḷaka* meaning probably the ruler of a territory in the south. This southern king named Rājamalla belonging to the Nāgodbhava dynasty has not been identified satisfactorily.

The most interesting point in the description of king Śubhākara who issued the charter under discussion is that he is here represented as the son of Śivakara II, first son of Śubhākara I and the elder brother of Śāntikara I, from the queen Mohinīdevī belonging to the Bhavāna-vaṁśa (possibly a royal family of which the progenitor was a ruler named Bhavāna). This new information is a very valuable addition to our knowledge of Bhauma-Kara history. It seems to show that Śāntikara I was succeeded sometime before the year 100 by his elder brother's son Śubhākara II, born of the queen Mohinīdevī, and that this Śubhākara II was succeeded shortly before the year 103 by Śubhākara III who was the son of

Śāntikara I himself from the queen Tribhuvanamahādevī. It may however be suggested that the issuer of the present charter was the same king who later issued the Hindol and Dharakota plates and that he was actually the son of Śivakara II from Mohinīdevī but was adopted as a son by Tribhuvanamahādevī between the years 100 and 103 when he was on the throne. I cannot support the alternate suggestion mainly because the adoption of a ruling monarch by one of his female relations looks unusual and because the unpopularity of the institution of adoption in the Bhauma-Kara family seems to be clearly demonstrated by the accession to the throne by no less than four widowed queens (*viz.*, Tribhuvanamahādevī, Gaurīmahādevī, Vakulamahādevī and Dharmamahādevī) and a princess (Daṇḍimahādevī). It should also be remembered that the draft of the present charter is remarkably different from those of the Hindol and Dharakota plates which however resemble each other. It is hoped that new discovery of Bhauma-Kara records will soon show conclusively whether Śubhākara II of the present charter is identical with the issuer of the Hindol and Dharakota plates or, as in more probable, those two records were issued by a different king named Śubhākara III.

In the copper-plate grants of the kings of the Bhauma-Kara dynasty, the name of the reigning king's mother is usually mentioned. This practice has luckily made known the names of the queens of many of the Bhauma-Kara rulers to the students of ancient Orissan history. Unfortunately no copper-plate inscription of king Śāntikara II, son of Śubhākara II or III, has as yet been discovered. Thus the name of the mother of Śāntikara II and the queen (probably chief queen) of Śubhākara II or III remains unknown. The charter of Śubhākara II under discussion mentions the *rājñī* Nṛiṇṇādevī, as a result of whose representation the king made the grant in question in favour of certain Brāhmaṇas. There is little doubt that Nṛiṇṇādevī was a queen of Śubhākara II. But it is not possible to determine in the present state of our knowledge whether Nṛiṇṇādevī was the chief queen of king Śubhākara II and whether she was the mother of king Śāntikara II, son and successor Śubhākara II or III. This fact is likely to remain unknown until a copper-plate grant of king Śāntikara II is brought to the notice of the students of ancient Orissan history and epigraphy.

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THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

A meeting of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was held, jointly with the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy, on the 27th February, 1950, at the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, Madras, to felicitate Dr. C. Kunhan Raja, Professor of Sanskrit, University of Madras, on his appointment as Professor of Sanskrit at the Teheran University, Iran.

Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer presided. An Address in Sanskrit and a Souvenir in the form a silver plate inscribed with a Sanskrit verse conveying the best wishes of the Institute and the Academy were presented to Dr. Kunhan Raja.

After prayer, Dr. V. Raghavan read the Address. Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer presented the Address and the Souvenir to Dr. Kunhan Raja. Speeches were then made by Sri Alladi Krishnaswami Iyer, Pandit R. Subrahmanya Sastri, Prof. K. A. Nilakantha Sastri, Prof. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer praising Dr. Raja's work in the cause of Sanskrit and emphasising the cultural significance of the new appointment which Dr. Raja had accepted.

Dr. Kunhan Raja replied to the felicitations.

BOOK REVIEWS

ART AND THOUGHT BY K. BHARATA IYER. Luzac & Co., London. £3. 3. 0.

If there was one single scholar to whom, more than to any body else, the world owes its understanding of Indian art, it was Dr. Ananda Coomaraswami. Indian art, the study of its spirit and aesthetic, naturally took him to Indian philosophy and Indian modes of life and social patterns, and during his last years he was an active exponent of a school of thought, which had gained many notable adherents and which believed in the supreme validity of the twin doctrines of perennial philosophy and traditional life, belief in which, as he showed in a number of his last days' writings, was common to the heritage of all the old world peoples.

It is appropriate that a volume of studies intended to honour this savant is entitled *Art and Thought*. The volume was organised by Sri K. Bharata Iyer, and unfortunately, it became a Memorial Volume too, for Dr. Coomaraswami passed away while the book was still with the printers.

There are forty contributions of varying length and excellence in this Volume. They are drawn from different countries, America, Europe and India, and deal with different aspects, and topics relating thereto, of the traditional cultures of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism and Buddhism, and of art and archaeology. The Volume is enriched by a number of illustrations, a portrait of Coomaraswami, and a very useful chronologically arranged bibliography of the writings of Coomarswami.

First comes the series of articles which are nearest to the dominant theme of Coomaraswami's expositions, the value of traditional life and art. To this section belong: the article 'Concerning Forms in Art' by F. Schuon which concludes that for all traditional art the end is the bringing of the artist back to his divine Essence; that of I. Burckhardt 'Principles and Methods of Traditional Art' which bases itself on the doctrine that traditionally, art and craft are identical, symbolically they correspond to a divine activity, and they are 'ritual' in character; 'From Art to Spirituality' by F. de Marquette, which summarises the teachings of Indian aesthetics the understanding of

which in the West is described as one of the most important cultural events of the last century; 'A craft as a means of Grace and a means of Realisation' by A. Messinesi which asks the question 'what possibilities are offered to a craftsman born in a modern world, an expanding desert of secularism and profanity, for integrating his life through the practice of a craft?' and answers by a narrative of the history of the author's own conversion to the traditional view; the article of R. B. Gregs which, enquiring about the validity of Indian handicrafts in this industrial era, shows how industrialism speeds up entropy on this planet, destroying life in its quantitative as well as qualitative aspects and hopes that Indian handicraft and peasant life will resist and survive; 'on the Aesthetic Attitude in Romanesque Art' by M. Schapiro which sets forth the prevalance of such a religious view of art in old cultures other than the Indian too; S. E. Lee's paper 'Los Urthona and Blake's Illustrations to Dante' which expound Blake's faith in the *Philosophia perennis*; the excerpts from Al-Gazzali on Beauty made by R. Ettinghausen which disproves the prevailing notion about Muslim art being secular; A. M. Ludovici's 'India and the Western World' which is alive to the damage caused by the impact of the West on India and agrees with Coomaraswami's observation that "India's recovery depends on the re-establishment of a standard of quality"; and 'Active Tradition of the East and West' by Alberts Gleizes which demonstrates, in Coomaraswami's own manner, identical traditions in religious art-representations in Hinduism and Christianity.

Next comes a series of articles on the significance of certain symbologies in India, China, Arabia, etc. Here, mention may be made of Sanskrit Letters as Mystical Symbols in later Buddhism outside India by L. Scherman; the Magic Ball and Golden Fruit in Ancient Chinese Art by A. Salmony; the Motive of Three Fish with a Common Head (in China) by C. Schuster; Cosmic Symbolism of the Dragon Robes of the Ch'ing Dynasty by S. Camman; the Mysteries of the Letter Nūn in Arabic, meaning fish which Rene Guenon relates to the flood legends and Matsya-avatara in Hinduism, 'the most direct heritage of the Primordial Tradition'; and 'Dūrohaṇa and the Waking Dream' by M. Eliade who interprets the staircase and ascension to heaven.

Among articles more directly concerned with religion and philosophy are C. G. Jung's article on Eastern Meditation, S. Radhakrishnan's on Science and Religion, and Miss Horner's Wayfaring.

In art-criticism we have E. Schroeder's essay on Moghul painting in which the author endeavours to suggest the hitherto overlooked feature of a Hindu-Muslim synthesis such as is more clearly perceptible in religion and literature, and the article on Problems of Rajput Art by H. Goetz.

Of value on the plane of archaelogical research, the contribution of Coomaraswami to which was rich and authoritative, the following may be noted: Two Mesopotamian Seals (Miss A. Getty), Buddhist Art of Bāmiyān in Afganistan (B. Rowland), the Gupta Temple at Devagarh, (V. S. Agrawala), Tibetan Book Covers (G. Tucci), Painting of a Jain Pilgrimage (W. N. Brown), and Chinese Ritual Bronze Vessels (Miss F. Waterbury).

N. Roerich, under the caption 'Chāndogya Upanishad' sings a rhapsody on India.

V. R.

ORIENTALIA NEERLANDICA, A. W. SIJTHOFF, LEIDEN.

This is a volume of Otiental studies in about 500 pages contributed to by members of the Netherlands' Oriental Society on the occasion of the twenty-fifth Anniversary of the Society in 1945 and published in 1948. The volume is, as the Preface rightly points out, 'a living proof that oriental scholarship in the various aspects is still alive in the Netherlands'. There are on the whole thirty-five papers covering the fields Egypt, Africa, Middle-East, Islam and Christianity, India, Indonesia, China and Japan; most of the contributions are in English, and of some at least in other languages, an English summary is given.

A. De Buck of Leiden opens the volume with an examination of the word ḤʿPJ which has been taken to mean the Nile but which means, according to him, more properly 'inundation'. P. Van Der Meer of Amstrdam fixes the reign of Menes of Egypt at about 2400 B. C. The African rock-paintings and their relation to Egyptian art-products form the subject of the next paper by W. D. Van Wijnagaarden of Leiden. The exaltation to which the King was raised in

Egypt too is discussed by L. J. Cazemier in his paper 'Did the Egyptians of the Ancient Empire Possess a Soul?' The grammatical question of localism in African languages is elaborately discussed by H. P. Blok of Leiden. The word Azazel in the old Testament which remains a 'crux interpretum' is examined by W. H. Gispen of Amsterdam. The study of P.A.H. De Boer of Leiden of Exodus XXI. 7-11 show how a Hebrew slave girl had to be treated by her master; and the biblical paper by J. Simons of Leiden discusses the territory inhabited by the Joseph-tribes, Ephraim and Manasseh. Urim and Tummin of the Old Testament were, according to J. Schoneveld, abstract nouns, became later material objects consulted for future happenings and in judiciary cases, and together formed a complete name for the priestly oracle. J. H. Krameites writes on Islam and Democracy.

In the group of papers on Indological subjcets, Faddegon points out the affinitics in the alphabet-arrangements in the Semitic and Sanskrit. H. Kraemer of Geneva, by a detailed analysis of the writings of Benoy Kumar Sarkar, shows how Indian research scholarship has a natural tendency to allow nationol patriotism to detract from the disinterested value of the investigation; an account is then given of the founder of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and pioneer of Indological studies, Sir William Jones; with illustrations from sculpture and citations from literature, Vogel describes the motif in Indian art called Vyālaka, the peculiar animal referred to in Tamil temple architecture as Yāḷi; P. H. Pott describes a Tibetan painting from Tun-Huang on the western frontier of China; J. Gonda of Utrecht has a valuable paper criticising the prevailing notions about the humorous or mimic-dramatic nature of the so-called secular and satirical hymns of the Ṛgveda like those on the Frogs and the Gambler; K. De Vreese draws the full picture of the ancient Indian dice (vibhītaka) game; and H. J. De Zwart of Utrecht has some fresh comments to make on the Ūrvaśī-Purūravas hymn.

On the help that the Munda language group offers for a study of the Indonesion languages, F. B. J. Kuiper of Leiden has a detailed paper. R. A. Kern of Leiden shows by a re-examination of the references to Ho-Ling that it could primarily mean only Java, though one of the references warrant identification with Malaya. F. H. Van Naerssen points out the circumstances under which the earliest phase of the Hindu-

Indonesian Culture-contact should have developed. G. W. J. Drewes's paper on a manuscript with mystical poetry (suluk) from Cherbon deals with a phase of Javanese culture after the introduction of Islam.

The possibility of scribal errors in ancient Chinese texts is illustrated by J. J. L. Duyvendak of Leiden. Tjan Tjoe Som of Leiden offers a new interpretation of some passages of the Chinese classics. F. Vos, Leiden, presents a translation of a Japanese text on Knighthood; an illustrated article by C. C. Krieger, which concludes the volume, points out the western influence on modern Japanese painting.

This is a well-printed and well-produced volume.

V. R.

K. N. DIKSHIT MEMORIAL VOLUME. Deccan College Research Institute, Poona.

Volume VIII of the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute*, Poona, has been dedicated as a Memorial Volume to the memory of Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, the well-known scholar who was Director-General of Archaeology for many years. The Volume opens with a list of words and phrases, rather characteristic of the epic, gathered by Dr. S. K. De during his work on the critical edition of the Udyoga-parvan of the Great Epic. Prof. P. K. Gode writes on the mounted bowmen on Indian battlefields from Alexander to Panipat. Mm. V. V. Mirashi gives a detailed account of three ancient dynasties of Mahākosala who reigned successively at Śrīpura from A.D. 380 to A.D. 650. Dr. I. J. S. Tarporewala has a note on the metre of a Gāthā in the Avesta. Sri R. S. Panchamukhi contributes a paper, together with rough sketches, which could have been well substituted by photos, on the sculpture of the many temples at Pattadakkal near Badami. Dr. E. D. Kulkarni gives a section—on expressions of comparison—from his study of epic syntax in the critical Mahābhārata edition. Sri G. S. Ghurye's Notes on Hindu Costume is a veritable minor thesis in 75 pages on a highly interesting theme; it surveys all the important poetic and dramatic works and treats in a classified manner with the different articles of dress for both men and women. Making a detailed review of the incidents of the Surat Episode of 1759, Sri T. S. Shejwalkar shows the deficiencies of the policy of the Peshwas, and the

need to revise one's opinion about Maratha Power in the 18th century. On the meagre finds of coins, both punch-marked and Roman, from Indian megaliths, Sri G. N. Das has a short note. The pre-historic finds in Bellary are described by Sri B. Subba Rao who carried out an exploration of that area under the direction of Dr. Sankalia. Sri N. J. Shende surveys the nature and position of Bṛhaspati in Vedic and Epic literature. Supplementing Sri Gode's findings on the glass-bangles, Dr. Sankalia writes a note on the antiquity of these bangles which according to him are only about 600 years old and spread more probably under Muslim influence. Sri V. T. Gune's critical analysis of about 155 Modi Mahazars is again a minor thesis extending to 140 pages. Nominal compounds in Pāli which have not received their due attention are studied by Sri G. V. Davane on the basis of the text of the Mahāparinibbāna-sutta. Of the thousands of small units or settlements within a given District area, Sri Y. S. Mehendale examines, as a sample, the place-names ending in *wadi* in the Ratnagiri District alone. Mrs. Karve has little support in her attempt to read into the incident of Sītā's abandonment the belief that twin children and adultery went together.

V. R.

Principal Karmarkar Commemoration Volume. Sri S. V. Dandekar, Principal, S. P. College, Poona 2. Rs. 12.

After a brilliant record at College, Sri R. D. Karmarkar dedicated his life to higher education in Poona by joining the New Poona College scheme, later the Sri Parasurambhau College, of which he retired as Principal. During a very active life, he not only edited a number of Sanskrit classics, but took part in such diverse activities as the University Training Corps where he rose to the position of Lt.-Col. and commandant of the Officers' Training Corps. The present volume was presented to him by pupils, friends and admirers on his retirement from the S. P. College in 1948 and contains valuable research papers from various scholars. Besides a portrait of the professor and a foreword by Mm. P. V. Kane, the volume carries two Marathi accounts of the Professor and his life and activities. The Volume includes also three articles in Marathi and two in Sanskrit.

In the leading English article, Dr. S. K. Belvalkar rightly emphasises that the Karma, Bhakti, and Jñāna of the Gītā do not form a trichotomy, but a triune-unity. Prof. Gode's

paper to this volume deals with rope-manufacture in India between B. C. 300 and A. D. 1900. The short note of Mr. Goetz draws attention to the minor vestiges ancient Indian painting in the Caitya hall at Bhājā (2nd century B. C.), Kārlē (1st century B. C.) and in a Vihāra hall at Kanheri. Sri N. A. Gore describes briefly the Subhāṣita Khaṇḍa of Gaṇeśa Bhaṭṭa, a late anthology available in a manuscript in the Rajapur Sanskrit School. Prof. N. P. Gune's Indo-Aryan and Hittite gives an account of the Hittite language, one of the earliest members of the IE language family, its discovery, the work on it by different pioneers and its leading features. The work of a Jain Hindi poet of the 17th century A. D. is set forth by Kamta Prasad Jain. Dr. B. Kakati tackles the interesting but difficult question of the doctrine of irrefusability of the love-initiative from a woman found in certain places in the Purāṇas and suggests the only possible answer of amalgamation of the practices of some of the non-Āryan tribal groups. Dr. A. P. Karmarkar argues that the first Purāṇa, on the deluge-story, must have been written by Vyāsa soon after the great Bharata war. Prof. D. G. Koparkar considers the circumstances under which word-lists, gaṇas, in the Gaṇapāṭha attached to the Aṣṭādhyāyī went on growing and gives an analysis of one of them, the multi-gendered gaṇa Ardharcādi in the various stages of its amplification. Dr. E. D. Kulkarni, the author of a Bombay University prize-essay on the 'Influence of Sanskrit Literature on Modern Indian Languages', in a brief epitome of his findings, shows the need for the study of Sanskrit by the votaries of all vernacular literatures. It is interesting to learn from Dr. Mahdihassan that the very popular word 'Cutchery' supposed generally to be of Muslim origin, is really from the Chinese Kuan-Chih-Li meaning 'office-residence'. Dr. M. G. Mainkar finds the Rāmānujīya-interpretation of Bhakti-passages in the Gītā more natural than the Śānkara-interpretation. Prof. M. R. Majumdar describes an illustrated manuscript of a Gujarati poem on the Kṛṣṇa-exploits. The Peshwa's relations with Jaipur Rulers as shown by the Peshwa Daftar selections engage the attention of Dr. M. M. Patkar. Dr. A. D. Pusalkar reviews ideas on the concept of Race and points it out as the basis of modern wars. Two notes of Dr. Sankalia present with sculptural illustrations the superstition of the holding of the winnowing basket and Śītalādevī and the long

purse, *vāmśvī*, which is tied round the waist for safety. Examining the 230 cases of the word Brahman in the Atharvaveda, Dr. N. J. Shende arrives at the conclusion that it means the magical act and the mysterious power arising out of this act in the priest and pervades the man and the universe. Dr. Upadhye brings to light the existence of a Prākṛt imitation of the Meghasandesa, the Bhṛṅgasandeśa, in a fragmentary manuscript in Trivandrum. Sri M. V. Vaidya of the B. O. R. Institute considers some questions relating to the extent of the Great Epic, with special reference to the significance of the Parva-samgraha figures. Dr. K. N. Watave contends that the Sthāyi-bhāva in the Rasa doctrine is, in terms of modern Hormic psychology, 'Sentiment' and not 'Instinct' as Wadekar had held.

The facile Sanskrit writer, Sri Raghunatha Sastri Patankar of the Rajapur Sanskrit College contributes a Sanskrit essay on Sanskrit grammar, and D. B. Paranjpe, a short Sanskrit article on Goddess Jvālāmukhī and the Jvālāmukhī Hill in the Punjab. The three Marathi articles deal with Gotra (N. G. Chapekar), Advaita as the purport of the Vedānta Sūtras (D. V. Joag), and the linguistic, grammatical and literary flaws in the text of the Gītā (G. K. Modak).

V. R.

THE PHILOSOPHY AND SCIENCE OF VEDANTA AND RAJAYOGA, by Sabhapathy Swami. Chaitanya Prabhu Mandali, Mahim, Bombay.

Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer, Retired Accountant-General, a Life Member of the K. S. R. Institute, is not only a keen student of philosophy, but a practical sādhaka who has undergone initiation and practice under tue guidance of proper gurus. Some years ago, he brought out in Sanskrit and Tamil a book of hymns on Gaṇeśa from the unpublished Mudgala Purāṇa. A forthcoming publication of his is 'Hidden Treasure of Yoga'. The present work is one which he has cherished for long and which he has used in his forthcoming book. The Philosophy and Science of Vedānta and Rājayoga by Sabhapathy Swami was originally published in 1883 by Sri Siris Chandra Vasu, and from a rare old copy with Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer, the Chaitanya Prabhu Mandali of Bombay, at the instance of the founder Swami Krishna Chitanya and through the generosity of Sjt. M. K. Desai, has issued this new edition of that work.

Sabhapathy Swami, as the book says, was a native of Madras, who felt the call for higher life, tried Buddhist priests and fakirs and finally had a message to go to Agastyasrama in the southern hills. After some penance and a further revelation at a shrine seven miles south of Madras, he reached Agastyasrama, found his guru there, and spent with him seven years. After becoming a Brahmajñāni thus, Sabhapathy Swami came back to the world to help people to the spiritual path and lectured and wrote in Tamil. He then went to the Himalayas, had the company of Siddhas and the darsan of the Lord on Kailasa; this last vision of his is enshrined in a hymn of his on Siva.

This book gives in brief the teachings of this Swamiji which are based on the Upanishadic Vedānta which believes in the doctrine of the individual spirit becoming one with the Infinite Universal Spirit. It sets forth the method by which communion could be gained, advocates Rajayoga, and discounts Haṭhayoga. Being the writing of one who had been in active Sādhana and had gained realisation, the work is replete with practical data, and is thus not a mere disquisition on philosophy. The Rājayoga chakra in the body according to the founder of this school Agastya is given in a picture. The proceeds from the sale of this book are to be devoted to the furtherance of the mission of the Chaitanya Prabhu Mandali.

V. R.

UTTARAKHANDAYATRA. By Prof. S. P. Bhattacharya, 41/45, Russa Road, Tollygunge, Calcutta, Re. 1-4.

The author, Sri Siva Prasad Bhattacharya, is a Sanskrit Professor of Calcutta, well-known to students of Alaṅkāra Śāstra as the editor of the Alaṅkāra Kaustubha of Kavikarṇapūra Gosvāmin and other works. A traditional type of scholar, the Professor who is orthodox in his personal life, undertook several pilgrimages along with members of his family, and the present volume presents a collection of the Sanskrit poems which he composed while he was on his religious trek. The poems in this collection refer to the holy spots in the north, particularly the Himalayan shrines along the course of the celestial river Gaṅgā. The verses emanate both from a feeling of devotion and a sense of appreciation of the natural beauty of these sacred spots, and are couched generally in a simple diction, A large variety of metre is employed

successfully, though occasionally an Anuṣṭubh or Upajāti limps from a now common North Indian lapse (p. 19, verse 4, second pāda; p. 26, verse 2, last pada).

V. R.

MANORAMA. Edited by Ananta Tripathi Sarma, M.A., P.O.L., M.C.A., Siromani Press, Berhampur, Ganjam.

We welcome this new venture in the form a Sanskrit Monthly. The number received by us, which is Vol. I., No. 3, opens with a selection of Subhāṣitas; then the editor continues his history of the art of writing in India; the same author gives also a further instalment of his history of the Alāṅkāra Śāstra; the issue carries a further list Sanskrit synonyms for English terms from the political and administrative spheres; Sri Sarvesvara Sarma writes on Śākaṭāyana; there are a number of minor poems and a portion of a Mahākāvya, Rādhāvilāsa published serially; and a lady Sri Sītā Devī contributes an one act play called Araṇyarodana. While the contents are varied and interesting, this effort at a new Sanskrit journal suffers obviously under the same handicap as others of the kind, of very limited resources; as support increases, the printing and get-up may be expected to improve.

V. R.

OBITUARY

Dr. D. R. BHANDARKAR

The well-known historian and archaeologist, Dr. Devadatta Ramakrishna Bhandarkar passed away at the age of 75 on 30th May, 1950 in Calcutta.

Son of the distinguished R. G. Bhandarkar, D. R. Bhandarkar passed his M. A. in Pali and Paleography. Before this, in 1897, he wrote a brief survey of ancient towns and cities of Mahārāṣṭra in the Pre-Muhammedan period for the Pandidt Bhagwanlal Indraji Gold Medal and Prize of the Bombay University, and published research papers in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. He was then attached to the Census Officer, Bombay, whom he helped in writing the sections on Religion and Sect and Caste and Tribe in the Census Report. He was also Hony. Asst. Supt. of Ethnography, Bombay, and in 1902, wrote a monograph on the Āhirs. In 1904, he was appointed Asst. Archaeological Surveyor, Bombay Circle, and was responsible for the Lists of Ancient Monuments in Rajputana. His findings at this time regarding the antiquity of the Lakulīśa sect were very well received. His work on the Āhirs, Gurjaras and Guhilots took the shape of the 'Foreign Elements in the Hindu Population' which he delivered as the Bhagavanlal Indraji lectures in 1904 at the Bombay University; this was published in 1911 in the Indian Antiquary of which he became in this year Joint Editor with Sir. R. Temple; the same year saw him taking charge of the Western Circle of the Archaeological Survey.

In 1912 he was awarded the Sir James Campbell Gold Medal by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic society. He did some important excavations at Besnagar (ASI. An. Rep. 1913-14, 1914-15). In 1917, Sir Ashutosh Mookerjee took him to the Calcutta University as the Carmichael Professor of Ancient Indian History and Culture, along with which chair, he was holding also charge of the Archaeological section of the Indian Museum, Calcutta. In 1921, he received the honorary degree of Ph. D. from the Calcatta University. He was on the Board of Trustees of the Indian Museum and was connected also with the Govt. Historical Records Commission. In 1936, he retired from University and Government service.

Among the series of Charmichael Lectures he delivered at the Calcutta University are 'Kingship and Democratic Institu

tions of Ancient India', 'Indian Numismatics' (1921), and 'Aśoka' (1923). Under the Manindra Chandra Nandy Foundation at the Benares Hindu University, he delivered in 1925, the lectures on 'Some Aspects of Ancient Hindu Polity'. Under the Sir William Meyer Foundation at the Madras University, he delivered the series of lectures 'Some Aspects of Ancient Indian Culture' in 1938-39.

His 'List of Inscriptions of Northern India', Epigraphia Indica, Appendix to Vols. XIX-XXIII, which was a revised edition of the earlier list published by Keilhorn, took him ten years. Till his death he was working on the revised edition Fleet's Gupta Inscriptions.

He was connected with and honoured by many research societies and conferences. V. R.

R. A. Sastri

Sri Anantakrishna Sastri, familiarly known all over India and abroad to manuscript-enthusiasts as R. A. Sastri, passed away on 15th July, 1950 at a ripe old age.

The late Sastri was reponsible for manuscript collection work in the Adyar Library, the Oriental Institute, Baroda, the Punjab University Library, Lahore, the Visvabharati, Santiniketan, and lastly, the University Mss. Library, Trivandrum. Small collections of Mss. had been made by him for several other institutions also, including the Madras University. Sanskrit Mss. were his passion till the end of his life, and it is this that led him to move actively, behind the screens, authorities at different University centres and bodies for the starting of work on a New Catalogus Catalogorum of Sanskrit Mss.

As a scholar, he had edited a number of works, the Lalitāsahasranāman with Bhāskararāya's Commentary, the Kavīndrācārya List, the Agniveśya gṛhya, the Pāśupata Sūtras etc.

A man of amazing energy, he had not only toured the country up and down every year, but had gone abroad on a tour to see the North Pole (described by him as the Mahāmeruyātrā) and the midnight Sun. A worshipper of Śakti, he claimed many disciples among highly placed persons, foreigners and such distingnished personalities as the late Maharajah Sayaji Rao of Baroda. V. R.

Dr. E. S. Krishnaswami Iyer

We are very sorry to record the passing away at Bangalore on June 7th '50 of Dr. E. S. Krishnaswami Iyer who was a Life Memeber of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

Note 2.—*Parivuṟṟu-meliyiṉum* means, according to *Iḷampūraṇar*, "when the friend is on the point of yielding out of compassion" and according to *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar*, "when he becomes emaciated". The former meaning suits better with what follows.

How many are the ways in which the lover's friend intercedes?

101. பாங்கர் நிமித்தம் பன்னிரண் டென்ப.
Pāṅkar nimittam paṉṉiraṇ ṭ-eṉpa.

There are twelve occasions in which the lover's friend intercedes.

Note 1.—*Pāṅkar-nimittam* may be taken as *aṉmoḻi-t-tokai* meaning "the union of the lover and the lady-love through the lover's friend". But in the *Iḷampūraṇam* it is taken to be a *vēṟṟumai-t-tokai* and *nimittam* is an *ākupeyar* meaning *nimittam āka-k kūṭum kūṭṭam.*

What are they?

102. முன்னைய மூன்றுங் கைக்கிளைக் குரிப்பே.
Muṉṉaiya mūṉṟuṅ kaikkiḷai-k kuṟippē.

The occasions during the last three (among the eight kinds of marriages) come under *kai-k-kiḷai.*

103. பின்னர் நான்கும் பெருந்திணை பெறுமே.
Piṉṉar nāṉkum perun-tiṇai peṟum-ē.

The occasions during the first four (among them) fall under *peruntiṇai.*

104. முதலொடு புணர்ந்த யாழோர் மேன
தவலருஞ் சிறப்பி னைந்நிலம் பெறுமே.
Mutaloṭu puṇarnta yāḻōr mēṇa
Taval-aruñ ciṟappi ṉ-ai·n-nilam peṟum-ē.

The occasions during *kaḷavu* which is the type of *gāndharva* which is said to be of the best type arise in the five regions of spotless importance.

Note 1.—*Pāṅkar-nimittam* should be taken in these three *sūtras* from the *sūtra* 101.

Note 2.—It seems to me that the above three *sūtras* may be taken to be one *sūtra* explaining the twelve occasions wherein the lover's friend intercedes. They are those that happen during the last three of *eṭṭumaṉṟal* noted in the first *sūtra* of

this chapter, *Āsura, Rākṣasa* and *Pāiśāca,* which belong to *kaikkiḷai* type, and those in the first four *Brāhma, Prājāpatya, Dāiva* and *Ārṣa* which belong to *peruntiṇai* type and those in *kaḷavu* which is of five kinds according to the five regions. But Iḷampūraṇar takes them as three *sūtras* and Naccinārkkiniyar as two.

Note 3.—*Ai-n-nilam* according to Iḷampūraṇar, refers to *kaḷavu, uṭan-pōkku, iṟkiḻatti, kāma-k-kiḻatti* and *kāṭar-parattai* and according to Naccinārkkiniyar, *mullai, kuriñci, pālai, marutam,* and *neytal.* In *Iḷampūraṇam* there is the refutation of what is stated in *Naccinārkkiniyam.* If the *Iḷampūraṇam* text is correct, *Naccinārkkiniyar* should have taken the view of the predecessors. Naccinārkkiniyar's view seems to be correct.

105. இருவகைக் குறிபிழைப் பாகிய விடத்தும்
காணு வகையிற் பொழுதுகண் ணியகப்பினும்
தானகம் புகாஅன் பெயர்த லின்மையின்
காட்சி யாசையிற் களம்புக்குக் கலங்கி
வேட்கையின் மயங்கிக் கையறு பொழுதினும்
புகாஅக் காலைப் புக்கெதிர்ப் பட்டுழிப்
பகாஅ விருந்தின் பருதிக் கண்ணும்
வேளா ணெதிரும் விருப்பின்[1] கண்ணும்
[2]தாளா ணெதிரும் பிரிவி ணுணும்
காணுகெஞ் சலைப்ப விடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
வரைதல் வேண்டித் தோழி செப்பிய
புரைதீர் கிளவி புல்லிய வெதிரும்
வரைவுடம் படுதலு மாங்கதன் புறத்தும்
புரைபட வந்த மறுத்தலொடு தொகைஇக்
கிழவோன்[3] மேன வெண்மனர் புலவர்.

Iru-vakai-k kuṟi-piḻai-p p-ākiya v-iṭattum
Kāṇā vakaiyiṟ poḻutu-naṇi y-ikappiṇum
Tāṉ-akam pukāaṉ peyarta l-iṉmaiyiṉ
Kāṭci y-ācaiyiṟ-kaḷam-pukku-k kalaṅki
Vēṭkaiyiṉ mayaṅki-k kai-y-aṟu poḻutiṉum
Pukāa-k kālai-p pukk-etir-p paṭṭuḻi-p
Pakāa viruntiṉ pakuti-k kaṇṇum
Vēḷā ṉ-etirum viruppiṉ kaṇṇum
Tāḷā ṉ-etirum pirivi ṇāṇum

1. விருப்பின் (இளம்.); விருந்தின் (நச்.)
2. தாளாண் (இளம்.); வாளாண் (நச்.)
3. கிழவோன் (இளம்.); கிழவோள் (நச்.)

Nāṇu-neñ c-alaippa viṭuttaṟ kaṇṇum
Varaital vēṇṭi-t tōḻi ceppiya
Purai-tīr kiḻavi pulliya vetirum
Varaiv-uṭam paṭutal-u m-āṅkaṭaṇ puṟattum
Purai-paṭa vanta maṟuttaloṭu tokaii-k
Kiḻavōṉ mēṉa v-eṉmaṉār pulavar.

Learned men say that the following are the occasions when the lover speaks: When he fails to meet the be loved at the assigned place both day and night, when he feels the time heavy in her absence, when he stands helpless befooled by his disappointment on going to the assigned place eager of seeing her and not prepared to return home without going there, when he is treated as a guest when he is met though in an inopportune moment, when the lady expects presents from him, when he perseveres to meet her during separation, when he leaves her on seeing her worried through her modesty, when he is addressed by the lady's friend with surest words to prepare for the marriage, when he agrees to propose for the marriage and when his proposal for the marriage is not agreed to.

Not 1.—This *sūtra* deals, according to Iḷampūraṇar, with the sayings of the *lover* and according to Naccinārkkiniyar, with the sayings of the *lady-love*. Both have given illustrations from literature in support of their views.

106. காமத் திணையிற் கண்ணின்று வருஉம்
நாணு மடனும் பெண்மைய வாகலின்
குறிப்பினு மிடத்தினு மல்லது வேட்கை
தெறிப்பட வாரா வவள்வயி னான.[1]
Kāma-t tiṇaiyiṟ kaṇṇiṉṟu varūum
Nāṇu maṭaṉ-um peṇmaiya v-ākaliṉ
Kuṟippiṉu m-iṭattiṉu m-allatu vēṭkai
Neṟippaṭa vārā v-avaḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉ-a.

Since shyness and credulity are in the nature of women, the amorous desire in women under *kaḷavu* is not clearly expressed, but is to be understood from suggestion and position.

Note 1.—The meaning given above belongs to *Iḷampūraṇar*. *Naccinārkkiniyar* splits the *sūtra* into three sentences.

1. *Cf. Dṛṣṭvāitān bhāvasaṁyuktān ākārān iṅgitāni ca*
Kanyāyāḥ samprayōgārtham tāṁstān yōgān vicintayēt (*Kāma-sūtra* 3, 3, 43.

The meaning, according to him, is this:—Since the shyness and credulity of women make their appearance in their youth, they are suggested from their eyes in *kaḷavu*; amorous desire is seen in its nature during the conjugal union of lovers and they are not visible on other occasions.

107. காமஞ் சொல்லா காட்ட மின்மையின்
ஏமுற விரண்டு முளவென மொழிப.
Kāmañ collā nāṭṭa m-iṉmaiyiṉ
Ēm-uṟa v-raṇṭu m-uḷa-v-eṉa moḻipa.

Since eyes do not but suggest her amorous desire, both of them, they say, do exist to delight (the lover).

Note 1.—Since conjugal union never happens without exchange of words, both of them—shyness and credulity—appear with change of form.

Note 2.—*Nāṭṭam* means according to *Iḷampūraṇar, eyes* and according to *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar, happening. Ēm* means, according to the former *delight* and according to the latter *confusion.*

108. சொல்லெதிர் மொழிதல் லருமைத் தாகலின்
அல்ல கூற்றுமொழி யவள்வயி னுன.
Col-l-etir moḻita l-arumai-t t-ākaliṉ
Alla kūṟṟu-moḻi y-avaḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉ-a.

Since it is rare that lady-love expresses her amorous desire, we see only her apparent refusal.

Note 1.—The above is the meaning given by *Iḷampūraṇar Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar's* meaning is this:—Since it is not rare for the lady-love to express her amorous desire to her friend without feeling shy and credulous, we find such sayings of the lady-love addressed to her friend.

Note 2.—The meanings given by *Nacciṉārkkiṉiyar* for the *sūtras* 106 to 108 are far-fetched. The prose-order taken by him is laboured.

109. மறைத்தவற் காண்ட றற்காட் டுறுதல்[1]
நிறைத்த காதலின் சொல்லெதிர் மழுங்கல்
வழிபாடு மறுத்தன் மறுத்தெதிர் கோடல்
பழிநீர் முறவல் சிறிதெ தோற்றல்
கைப்பட்டுக் கலங்கினும் காணுமிக் வரினும்

1. *Cf. Sammukham na vīkṣate...rucyam ātmanō aṅgam apadēśēna prakāśayati* (*Kāmasūtra*, 3, 3, 25-6).

இட்டுப்பிரி விரங்கினு மருமைசெய் தயர்ப்பினும்
வந்தவழி யெள்ளினும் விட்டுயிர்த் தழுங்கினும்
சொந்துதெவி வொழிப்பினு மச்ச மீயினும்
பிரிந்தவழிக் கலங்கினும் பெற்றவழி மலியினும்
வருத்தொழிற் கருமை வாயில் கூறினும்
கூறிய வாயில் வொள்ளாக் காலையும்
மனைப்பட்டுக் கலங்கிச் சிதைந்தவழித் தோழிக்கு
நினைத்தல் சான்ற வருமறை யுயிர்த்தலும்
உயிராக் காலத் துயிர்த்தலு மூயிசெல
வேற்றவரைவு வரினது மாற்றுதற் கண்ணும்

தெறிப்படு காட்டத்து நிகழ்ந்தவை மறைப்பினும்
பொறியின் யாத்த புணர்ச்சி நோக்கி
ஒருமைக் கேண்மையி னுறுதுறை தெளிக்தோள்
அருமை சான்ற காலிரண்டு வகையின்
பெருமை சான்ற வியல்பின் கண்ணும்
பொய்த்தலை யடித்த மடலின் கண்ணும்
கையறு தோழி கண்ணீர் துடைப்பினும்
வெறியாட் டிடத்து வெருவின் கண்ணும்
குறியி னெப்புமை மருடற் கண்ணும்
வரைவுதலை வரினுங் களவறி வுறினும்
தமர்தற் காத்த காரண மருங்கினும்
தண்டுறி தள்ளிய தெருளாக் காலை
வந்தவன்[1] பெயர்ந்த வறங்கள நோக்கித்
தன்பிழைப் பாகத் தழீஇத் தேறலும்
வழுவின்று நிலைஇய வியற்படு பொருளினும்
பொழுது மாறும் புரைவ தன்மையின்
அழிவுதலை வந்த சிந்தைக் கண்ணும்
காமஞ் சிறப்பினு மவனளி சிறப்பினும்
ஏமஞ் சான்ற வுவகைக் கண்ணும்
தன்வயி னுரிமையு மவன்வயிற் பரத்தையும்
அன்னவு மூனவே யோரிடத் தான.

Maṟaintavaṟ kāṇṭa ṟaṟkāṭ ṭ-uṟutal
Niṟainta kātal ṟ col l-etir maḻuṅkal
Vaḷipāṭu maṟuttaṉ maṟuṭṭ-etir kōṭal
Paḷi-tīr muṟuval ciṟitē tōṟṟal
Kai-p-paṭṭu-k kalaṅkiṉum nāṇu-mika variṉum
Iṭṭu h-piri v-iraṅkiṉu m-arumai-cey t-ayarppiṉum
Vantavaḷi y-eḷḷiṉum viṭṭuyirt t-aḻuṅkiṉum
Noṇṭu-teḷi v-oḷippiṉu m-acca-nīṭiṉum
Pirintavaḷi-k kalaṅkiṉum peṟṟavaḷi maḷiyiṉum

1. வந்தவன் (இளம்.); வந்தனன் (நச்.).

Varun-toḻiṟ k-arumai vāyil kūṟiṉum
Kūṟiya vāyil koḷḷā-k kālai-y-um
Maṉaippaṭṭu k kalaṅki-t citaintavaḻi-t tōḻikku
Niṉaittal cāṉṟa v-aru-maṟai y-uyirttal-um
Uyirā-k kālat t-uyirttal-u m uyir-ccla
Vēṟṟu-varaivu variṉ-atu māṟṟutaṟ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Neṟippaṭu nāṭṭattu nikaḻntavai maṟaippiṉum
Poṟiyiṉ yātta puṇarcci nōkki
Orumai-k kēṇmaiyi ṉ-uṟu-kuṟai teḻintōḷ
Arumai cāṉṟa nāl-iraṇṭu vakaiyiṉ
Perumai cāṉṟa v iyalpiṉ kaṇṇum
Poy-talai y-aṭutta maṭaliṉ kaṇṇum
Kai-y-aṟu tōḻi kaṇṇīr tuṭaippiṉum
Veṟi-yāṭ ṭ iṭattu veruviṉ kaṇṇum
Kuṟiyi-ṉ-opṭumai maruṭaṟ kaṇṇum
Varaivu-talai variṉuṅ kaḻavaṟi v-uṟiṉum
Tamar-taṟ kātta kāraṇa marunkiṉum
Taṉ-kuṟi taḷḷiya teruḷā-k kālai
Vantavaṉ peyarnta v-aṟuṅ-koḷa nōkki-t
Tan-pi'ai-p p-āka-t taḷḷi-t tēṟal um
Vaḷu-v-iṉṟu nilaiiya v-iyaṟ-paṭu poruḷiṉ-um
Poḷutu māṟum puraiva t-aṉmaiyiṉ
Aḷivu-talai vanta cintai-k kaṇṇum
Kāmañ ciṟappiṉu m-avaṉ-aḷi ciṟappiṉ-um
Ēmañ cāṉṟa v uvakai-k kaṇṇum
Taṉvayi ṉ-urimai-y-u m-avaṉ vayiṟ parattai-y-um
Aṉṉa-v-u m-uḷa-v-ē y-ōr-iṭat t-āṉ-a.

The lady-love has her sayings on the following occasions totally or partially. When she sees him without his seeing her,[1] when she stands in such a position as to be seen by him, when she stands still before the lover through excessive love without telling him anything,[2] when she (apparently) refuses to yield to him, when she yields to him after refusal, when she lightly exhibits harmless smile,[3] when she is in bewilderment though

1. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is this:—When she sees him on his departure from her so long as he is within the range of her view.

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar* adds though she wants to accuse him of his attachment to harlot.

3. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is this:—When she lightly exhibits her joy to her friend on her being free from accusation.

in the company of her lover, when she is unnerved through extreme shyness, when she fears separation though at a short distance, when she feels sorry on being prevented from going out or on his failing to meet her on account of strict watch, when she derides him on his standing before her, when she explicitly tells him her sufferings bemoaning, when she does not listen to his promise on account of her suffering, when the obstacles bringing her fear prolong,[1] when she is in bewilderment on his separation from her, when she is in ecstasy on meeting him, when her friend tells her of the improbability of his coming on account of obstacles, when she does not take it into her head, when she reveals her situation to her friend on being chained to her house and consequently being put to much worry, when she says that she will die if he does not come to her rescue: when she consoles herself that she was responsible for his non-coming on her non-trying to make her parents change their minds if they arranged for the marriage with another, on her concealing her mind from others, on her being in eight amorous states with magnanimity consoling herself about the separation from her lover through her love for him for which fate is responsible, on hearing the rumour of his mounting himself on palmyra stalks, on her friend removing her tears, on the priest expressing his views of her being possessed of Skanda, on her bewilderment about her mistaking the assigned place, on approach of the lover's request for marriage on *kaḷavu* being on the point of becoming public property, on her relatives keeping her under check, on his going back with disappointment without knowing that she is under check and consequently is unable to meet him at the assigned place; and when she tries to misinterpret his true words, the inconvenient time and place of his arrival, his extreme attachment towards her, his attempt to please her and his exhibiting his extreme delight due to his attachment towards her, by referring to her unsullied state towards him and to his connection with a harlot (which is imaginary).

Note 1.—This *sūtra* may be sub-divided into three parts:—the first part consisting of lines 1-14, the second part of lines 15-29 and the third part of lines 30-36.

Besides,

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is, when she prolongs her fear to reveal the fact even to her friend.

110. வரைவிடை வைத்த காலத்து வருந்தினும்
உரையா காளிடை வந்தோன் முட்டினும்
உரையெனத் தோழிக் குரைத்தற் கண்ணும்
தானே கூறுங் காலமு முளவே.
Varaiv-iṭai vaitta kālattu varunt iṉum
Varaiyā nāḷ-iṭai vantōṉ muṭṭiṉum
Urai-y-eṉa t tōḻik k-uraittaṟ kaṇṇum
Tāṉ-ē kūṟuṅ kālam-u m-uḷa-v-ē.

There may be opportunities for the lady-love to volunteer her saying when she suffers before the lover goes to her to marry, when he meets (her friend etc.,) before her marriage and when she requests her friend to relate the real situation (to her parents, lover etc.).

Note 1.—*Um* in *kālam-um* suggests that such occasions are rare.

Besides,

111. உயிரினுஞ் சிறந்தன்று காணே காணினும்
செயிர்தீர் காட்சிக் கற்புச்சிறந் தன்றெனத்
தொல்லோர் கிளவி புல்லிய நெஞ்சமொடு
காமக் கிழவ னுள்வழிப் படினும்
தாவி னன்மொழி கிழவி கிளப்பினும்
ஆவகை பிறவுந் தோன்றுமன் பொருளே.
Uyiriṉuñ ciṟantaṉṟu ṉāṉ-ē nāṇiṉum
Ceyir-tīr kāṭci-k kaṟpu-c-ciṟan taṉṟ-eṉa-t
Tollōr kiḷavi pulliya neñcamoṭu
Kāma-k kiḻava ṉ-uḷavaḷi-p-paṭiṉum
Tāvi ṉaṉ-moḻi kiḻavi kiḷappiṉum
Ā-vakai piṟa-v-un-toṉṟuman poruḷ-ē.

Even if the lady-love goes (of her own accord) to the residence of her lover or says such words free from guilt on the strength of the saying of the ancients that shyness is superior even to life and chastity is superior even to shyness, such things come under *aka-p-poruḷ*.

What are the occasions when the lady love's friend has her say?

112. சாற்றமுந் தோற்றமு மொழுக்கமு முண்டியும்
செய்வினை மறப்பினுஞ் செலவினும் பயில்வினும்
புணர்ச்சி யெதிர்ப்பா டுள்ளுறத்து வருஉம்
உணர்ச்சி யேழினு முணர்ந்த பின்றை
மெய்யினும் பொய்யினும் வழிநிலை பிழையாது

वत्से ! मा भूद् विषादस्ते सम्पन्नस्ते मनोरथः ।
दिव्यरूपं पुरेव त्वं भर्तारमनुवर्तसे ॥ १५१ ॥

साम्बो मम सुतः क्रीडन् जरितारिमृषिं पुरा ।
हंसाकृत्या सरस्तोये क्रीडन्तं बिसतन्तुना ॥ १५२ ॥

शप्तो निगलयित्वासौ मुनिना जननान्तरे ।
निगलस्पर्शि मद्वक्त्रे चरणद्वन्द्वमस्त्विति ॥ १५३ ॥

स राजवाहनो नाम भूत्वा दैत्यविपत्तये ।
भर्तारं तव दुःखार्तं मर्त्यत्वान्मोचयिष्यति ॥ १५४ ॥

बहूनां जन्मनामन्ते तत्सहायः स ते पतिः ।
अग्निवर्णरथप्राप्त्या भवेदग्निरथाह्वयः ॥ १५५ ॥

अवन्तिसुन्दरीत्यास्ते यज्ञवत्यपि तत्प्रिया ।
ललामश्रीरिव स्त्रीणामवन्तिनृपतेः सुता ॥ १५६ ॥

अयं चूडामणिस्तस्मै कुमाराय प्रदीयताम् ।
नैव स्युर्मानुषा दोषा यस्मिन् मौलिगते नृणाम् ॥ १५७ ॥

इत्युक्ता हरिणा साहं प्रत्यागत्य पुरीमिमाम् ।
उत्तारिता वसन्तीह त्वयैवमनुगृह्णता ॥ १५८ ॥

इत्युक्त्वा तं मणिशफरुकाद् रत्नमुद्धृत्य धात्रा
न्यक्कुर्वाणं द्युमणिमकरोन्मण्डनं तच्छिखण्डे ।
यत्रामुक्ते नरकभिदुरः कौस्तुभस्येव भासा
दीप्त्येवेन्दोः शिर इव हरस्याङ्गमस्याबभासे ॥ १५९ ॥

हृदयमेत्य सविभ्र[1]महाविलं-
[2]भितसखिस्मरणाख्यमहाविलम् ।
[3]गतमियेष रिपूत्तमहाबिल-
म्बितमयं च विहाय महाबिलम् (?) ॥ १६० ॥

1. ग्रहमा. क 2. जि, क. 3. न, क.

अथापृच्छ्य प्रीत्या परवति गते तत्र मिथुने
पृथग्भूय प्रायादुदधिसदृशो दैत्यविवरात् ।
कुमारः प्रीतात्मा जगति जनितानन्दमुदयी
चरन् मित्रान्वेषी दिशमिव शशी मालवपुरीम् ॥ १६१ ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे पञ्चमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथासौ पथि गच्छन्तं पुरुषं नगराद् बहिः ।
अद्राक्षीत् संनिकृष्यासौ मित्रं पुष्पोद्भवोऽभवत् ॥ १ ॥

न जहर्ष तथोदन्वानिन्दौ तद्दर्शने यथा ।
कुमारः परिरभ्यैनं पप्रच्छ सुहृदां गतिम् ॥ २ ॥

ततो बद्धाञ्जलिः सर्वानुक्त्वा कुशलिनः सखीन् ।
स कथामित्थमारेभे विविक्ते वक्तुमात्मनः ॥ ३ ॥

देव ! त्वय्यनिमित्तेन प्रलीने दीनमानसाः ।
मत्वा बिलगतं कृत्वा तद्द्वारे देवरक्षितम् ॥ ४ ॥

यथाप्रवे[1]शं निर्याणं नैव स्याद् बिलवासिनाम् ।
इत्यालोच्य वयं सर्वे प्राद्रवाम दिशो दश ॥ ५ ॥

संवत्सरान्ते चम्पायां सङ्गमः समयश्च नः ।
सोऽप्यहं विन्ध्यशैलस्य पश्चिमं भागमभ्यगाम् ॥ ६ ॥

तत्रैकं पुरुषं वप्रात् पतन्तं पश्यतो मम ।
आसीन्मनसि निर्वेदाद् भाव्यं प्राणमुचामुना ॥ ७ ॥

शक्यं गगन एवैनं गृहीत्वा परिरक्षितुम् ।
शोकहेतुं ततो हर्तुं यावत्सामर्थ्यमुत्सहे ॥ ८ ॥

इत्याकलय्य सद्यस्तं दोर्भ्यामालिङ्ग्य धारयन् ।
तालवृन्तानिलाम्भोभिर्जीतप्राणमभाणिषम् ॥ ९ ॥

1. दे. क.

भद्र! कस्तव निर्वेदो यः प्राणव्ययकारणम् ।
इत्युक्तः स तु सस्नेहं मामालोक्येदमभ्यधात् ॥ १० ॥

कृतं तात! न साध्वेतद् दग्धदेहस्य रक्षणम् ।
मयापि श्रुतिशास्त्रादौ[1] कियानपि कृतः श्रमः ॥ ११ ॥

किं तेनापजहारैकं दयिताविरहज्वरः ।
तदहो! बलवानेष स्नेहः किं न करोत्यसौ ॥ १२ ॥

तथा हीन्दुमतीहेतोरजं प्राणैर्व्ययूयुजत् ।
प्रमद्वरायै रुरुणाप्यायुषोऽर्धमदापयत् ॥ १३ ॥

इत्थं सर्वाभिभाविन्या स्नेहशृङ्खलयानया ।
कृशीकृताः कियन्तो वै महान्तो मयि का कथा ॥ १४ ॥

कोऽस्य दुश्चरितं वक्तुं शक्तः कल्पशतैरपि ।
हस्तप्राप्याण्यसत्यस्मिन् प्रायो मुक्तिफलान्यपि ॥ १५ ॥

इत्युद्वेगवचः श्रुत्वा महतीयमहो! व्यथा ।
कस्य हेतोरपि त्वस्मिन् प्रतीतिः पितरीव मे ॥ १६ ॥

मय्येवं चिन्तयत्येका जरती पुर एव नौ ।
क्रोशन्ती चरणाभ्याशं गत्वा सत्वरमब्रवीत् ॥ १७ ॥

परित्रायध्वमत्रैषा तरुणी बहुविह्वला ।
सुखोचिता चितारूढेत्याकर्ण्याभ्यपताव ताम् ॥ १८ ॥

तथावस्थां चिताकूटादाहृत्य शिशिरे क्वचित् ।
चिरं निरूप्य सैवेयं सुव्रतेत्यब्रवीत् स ताम् ॥ १९ ॥

अथोत्तस्थौ तयोस्तस्मिन्नतर्क्यस्तदवस्थयोः ।
विरहानलमुद्वेलः प्रसह्य प्रीतिसागरः ॥ २० ॥

स संभ्रमान्ते सन्तापे शान्ते मामित्यभाषत ।
भद्र! भद्रः प्रयासस्ते फलितः श्रूयतां कथा ॥ २१ ॥

1. णाम् ख. ग.

[1]पद्मोद्भवस्य नामाहं पुत्रो भूत्वा वणिक्पतेः ।
समुद्रयायी नष्टायां नावि द्वीपान्तरं गतः ॥ २२ ॥

तत्रैनामुपलभ्यान्यजन्मनि प्रिययामु[2]या ।
रममाणश्चिरायास्या वसामि स्म पितुर्गृहे ॥ २३ ॥

श्रुत्वा पुष्पपुरीवार्तां तत्रागन्तोः कुतश्चन ।
उदारां नावमारुह्य प्रायां बन्धुदिदृक्षया ॥ २४ ॥

घोरमारुतभग्नायां मग्नायां नावि नाविकैः ।
दुर्दिनाभ्रितदिग्भागैर्म(गे म?)ग्नं मग्नोऽस्मि चार्णवे ॥ २५ ॥

अनया च सहापन्नसत्त्वया मातरं त्विमाम् ।
तं पोतलवमालम्ब्य प्लवमानामलक्षयम् ॥ २६ ॥

अमूभ्यां लहरीवेगाद् दूरीभूतान्तरेऽचिरात् ।
आलिलम्बिषमाणे मय्यतीतं दृष्टिगोचरम् ॥ २७ ॥

कं न निःस्नेहयत्याशा यतोऽहं तदवस्थया ।
वियुक्तोऽप्यनया देहं नाजहां जीवनाशया ॥ २८ ॥

मया तु प्लवमानेन मत्स्यपृष्ठाधिरोहिणा ।
दैवाद् द्वीपान्तरं गत्वा तस्मिन्नेकाकिनोषितम्[3] ॥ २९ ॥

अनीये नाविकेन स्वं पोतमारोप्य केनचित् ।
बालिद्वीपं ततः सर्वामुर्वीमन्विष्टवानिमाम् ॥ ३० ॥

शरदः षोडशान्विष्य ग्रामं ग्रामं वनं वनम् ।
पुरं पुरं च नैराश्याद् भृगौ देहमपातयम् ॥ ३१ ॥

रक्षितोऽस्मि त्वया सेयं दृष्टा गर्भस्य का कथा ।
इत्याकुलोऽहमित्युक्ते जगाद जरती च सा ॥ ३२ ॥

वत्स! मद्दुहितेयं त्वद्विरहेण जहात्यसून् ।
कथमप्यर्णवोत्तीर्णा प्रासूत तनयं वने ॥ ३३ ॥

1. भद्रो ख. ग.　2. न. क.　3. ते. ख.

[1]वन्यसत्त्वभिया बालमालम्ब्याग्निं विचिन्वती ।
महिषाभिहता मोहं गताहं बोधिता चिरात् ॥ ३४ ॥

दृष्ट्वा द्विजवरं कञ्चिन्न बालं व्याकुलीकृता ।
आनीये तेन यत्रासावास प्रसवविह्वला ॥ ३५ ॥

दुःखार्ता तदवस्थां मामालोक्य व्यथिता भृशम् ।
अदृष्ट्वा च सुतं मत्तः प्राङ्मर्तुमियमुद्यता ॥ ३६ ॥

संस्तभ्यैनां मुनिर्वाग्भिः कल्यां कृत्वौषधैश्च माम् ।
स जगाम चिरं स्थित्वा विद्यार्थी रुचितां दिशम् ॥ ३७ ॥

मुनेरनुव्याहरणात् पुरावां हंसरूपयोः ।
विरहः षोडशाब्दानां विगमे च समागमः ॥ ३८ ॥

चक्रवर्तिसखः सूनुर्भावीति [2]त्वदुदीरितम् ।
स्मारयन्त्या मया चैषा शरदः षोडशात्ययात् ॥ ३९ ॥

साद्य त्वद्दर्शनालाभान्निराशा विवशा वने ।
चितारूढा वराकीति ब्रुवत्येव रुरोद सा ॥ ४० ॥

अथाकथयमित्थं वां पुत्रवार्तां निशम्यताम् ।
स तस्मिन् महिषं हत्वा कुमारः करिणा हृतः ॥ ४१ ॥

सिंहभीत्या द्विपोत्क्षिप्तः कपिनोत्पीड्य पातितः ।
येन व्यवहरत्येषा[3] जनस्तत्पुष्पभाजने ॥ ४२ ॥

स तं गृहीत्वा जीवन्तं निस्संज्ञेयमिति क्षणात् ।
अदृष्ट्वा जननीं निन्ये वामदेवाश्रमं मुनिः ॥ ४३ ॥

वसुमत्या सहामात्यैर्वसतः पितुराश्रमे ।
सकाशं राजहंसस्याप्यनायि स ततोऽमुना ॥ ४४ ॥

वर्धितस्तत्र भूभर्त्रा सुमत्यादिसुतैः सह ।
दिग्जयायाद्य गच्छन्तं राजवाहनमन्वयाम् ॥ ४५ ॥

1. पञ्च. ख. वृक्षे ग. 2. त. क. 3. ष. ख. ग.

तस्मिन् बिलगते देवे तमन्विष्य भ्रमन् वने ।
पित्रोर्वां पादयोर्वर्तें पुत्रः पुष्पोद्भवोऽप्यसौ ॥ ४६ ॥

इत्युदीर्य ततः पित्रोर्मज्जन् हर्षाश्रुनिर्झरे ।
तदानन्दमयं ताभ्यां सहानैषं दिनं वने ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थसाध्यां तयोर्वृत्तिं मत्वार्थोपायचिन्तया ।
श्रीमण्डलमथालिख्य हुत्वाग्निं विजने वने ॥ ४८ ॥

प्रारोहप्रतिमाप्राणिक्षितिगन्धशिलादिभिः ।
आशङ्कितनिधौ देशे विविधैर्निधिलक्षणैः ॥ ४९ ॥

साधनैर्वर्तिकाभिश्च प्रत्यूहशमनैर्जपैः ।
यथाविध्यहमारभ्य प्रकृष्टं वसु दृष्टवान् ॥ ५० ॥

तावद्दस्युहते सार्थे साहाय्यं कुर्वतो मम ।
सार्थवाहेन तत्रासीत् सख्यं सवयसा सह ॥ ५१ ॥

भग्ने दस्युगणे [1]भस्त्रास्वारोप्य प्रचुरं धनम् ।
सार्थेन सह संप्राप्ता विशालां नगरीं वयम् ॥ ५२ ॥

सार्थवाहगृहं प्राप्तेष्वस्मासु सुहृदः पिता ।
प्रागेव श्रुतवृत्तान्तः पुत्रवन्मामपूजयत् ॥ ५३ ॥

अस्मत्पितृप्रणामाय स्वसुतां बालचन्द्रिकाम् ।
आजुहाव ततः कृत्स्नं ज्योत्स्नामयमूद् गृहम् ॥ ५४ ॥

लावण्याम्बुमयी गात्रे काळकूटमयी दृशोः ।
लीलामयी पदन्यासे सा कन्या समदृश्यत ॥ ५५ ॥

तत्रस्थानां च सोत्प्राशं निपेतुर्बहुशो दृशः ।
तस्यां मयि च सारूप्यात् कुसुमेषोरिवेषवः ॥ ५६ ॥

तस्यां गतायामेकान्ते सार्थवाहः स मे सखा ।
अवोचन्मां तु विज्ञाय त्वदन्वेषणतत्परम् ॥ ५७ ॥

1. गन्त्रीष्वा क.

श्रूयतां गुहचामुण्डीचण्डीवाग्देवतात्मसु ।
अधीती वञ्जुलाद्येषु शकुनेषु चतुर्ष्वहम् ॥ ५८ ॥

मन्त्रवद्भिरुपक्रान्तैरेभिर्भाव्यार्थशंसिभिः ।
राजवाहनमन्वेष्टुं परीक्ष्य प्रयतावहे ॥ ५९ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा परीक्ष्यैतदुपश्रुत्याद्यनुक्रमात् ।
तदानुगुण्यसन्तुष्टः स्थितोऽहं सुहृदा सह ॥ ६० ॥

स्मरज्वरविनोदाय क्रीडानळिनकं गतः ।
अदूरे गिरमश्रौषं हा! हतास्मीत्यनन्तरम् ॥ ६१ ॥

त्वरितोपसृतः कान्तामद्राक्षं बालचन्द्रिकाम् ।
आक्षिपन् पाशमप्राक्षं किमित्युद्बन्धनोन्मुखीम् ॥ ६२ ॥

प्रत्यभिज्ञाय मां बाला निगृह्याभिदधेऽत्रपा ।
दयित! श्रूयतामस्य व्यवसायस्य कारणम् ॥ ६३ ॥

इहाम्बुविहृतिव्याजान्महासेनसुता हृता ।
ततः प्रभृति कन्याभिर्जलक्रीडा न लभ्यते ॥ ६४ ॥

सख्यास्त्ववन्तिसुन्दर्याः क्रीडादर्शनदोहलम् ।
राज्ञे विज्ञापयिष्यन्ती स्वयमेवाहमभ्ययाम् ॥ ६५ ॥

चण्डवर्मानुजेनाहं दृष्टा दारुणवर्मणा ।
तस्याप्रियभिया तस्मै पितृभ्यां चास्मि दित्सिता ॥ ६६ ॥

तदहं मृत्यवे दातुमात्मानमियमारभे ।
इत्थं भूयोऽपि तत् कर्तुं प्रवृत्तामित्यभाणिषम् ॥ ६७ ॥

प्रिये! मैवं दुरात्मासावुपायेन निहन्यताम् ।
त्वदन्तरङ्गभूता ते ब्रवीतु पितरौ सखी ॥ ६८ ॥

व्यक्तं देवतयाविष्टा कयाचिद् बालचन्द्रिका ।
सा किलातुल्यजातीयं हन्यादस्याः करस्पृशम् ॥ ६९ ॥

इत्यनेनैव मूढात्मा न चेदेष विरंस्यति ।
सैव ब्रवीतु कन्येयं नेया तद्गृहमन्यथा ॥ ७० ॥

तस्मिन् देवतया ध्वस्ते स्वजनो विक्रियेत वा ।
तथेति च ततः पित्रा नीतायां त्वयि तद्गृहम् ॥ ७१ ॥

स्त्रीभूत्वैनं दुरात्मानं हनिष्यामि रहस्यहम् ।
इत्यभ्युपगमय्यैनां सख्या च समगंस्यहम् ॥ ७२ ॥

सा मयोक्तं तथा चक्रे मदनार्तः स दुर्मतिः ।
अन्वचञ्चात् प्रियां पित्रा नीता तद्गृहमेव सा ॥ ७३ ॥

तत्सखी नाम भूत्वाहं नारीनैपथ्यकर्मणा ।
अभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्यैनं मर्माघातैरमारयम् ॥ ७४ ॥

स दैवतहतः पापः कन्यादूषक इत्यलम् ।
ख्याते जगति सौहार्दात् कन्यां मह्यमदात् पिता ॥ ७५ ॥

इत्यानुषङ्गिकं प्राप्य त्वदन्वेषणकारणम् ।
उद्यतस्यास्य लब्धं मे देवदर्शनदौहृदम् ॥ ७६ ॥

इत्थं निशम्य दिष्ट्येमौ दृष्टौ नः पितराविति ।
कुमारे कथयत्येनं परीयुर्गुरवश्च ते ॥ ७७ ॥

यथार्हमभिवन्द्याथ श्वशुरौ पितरावपि ।
कुमारः सह तैः प्रीतः स्यन्दनेनाविशत् पुरीम् ॥ ७८ ॥

स तां सतां जन्मभूमिं सम्पदां सम्पदास्पदम् ।
जगामोज्जयिनीमुर्व्यां ललामश्रियमुज्ज्वलाम् ॥ ७९ ॥

तत्रोपरचितं रम्यं रत्नोद्भवगृहं गतः ।
पुरुषान् सुहृदोऽन्वेष्टुं विससर्ज नृपात्मजः ॥ ८० ॥

ततः कदाचिदाचख्यौ बालचन्द्रिकया सह ।
पुष्पोद्भवस्ते दासीयं संदिष्टा राजकन्यया ॥ ८१ ॥

ममास्मिन्ना[1]दरारब्धे भाविन्युदकदा[2]निके ।
उत्सवे तव सान्निध्यं भर्त्रा सह भवत्विति ॥ ८२ ॥

1. रवा ख, ग, 2. दानके. ख,

ఓమ్

Sri D. RAMALINGA REDDY, M.A., EX. M.L.A:—

కీ॥ శే॥ మహామహోపాధ్యాయ కుప్పస్వామి శాస్త్రిగారు—
ఎమ్.ఎ., ఐ.ఇ.యస్.(1880–1943).

(దుప్పూరిరామలింగా రెడ్డి ఎమ్ ఎ., బి.ఎన్.డిప్. పాలిటిక్సు పబ్లిక్ అడ్మినిస్ట్రేషన్, యమ్.యల్.ఎ, అడ్వకేట్).

కీర్తిశేషులగు యన్. కుప్పస్వామి శాస్త్రులవారు మన భారత దేశమునకును, సంస్కృతలోకమునకును తిలకమువంటివారు. వీరు 1943 సంవత్సరమునఁ గాలధర్మమందిరి. దీనిచే నీదేశమునకే కాక సంస్కృతవాఙ్మయమునకును మితి మీరిన నష్టమేర్పడినదనిన నతిశయోక్తిగా నేరదు. ఇంతియకాక వీరి మరణము వీరి తోఁబరిచయముగల వారికిని, వీరి శిష్య సంతతికిని దీరని దుఃఖముఁగలిగించినది.

శ్రీ శాస్త్రులవారి జీవిత చరిత్రమనేక సద్గుణములతో విలసిల్లి వీరి దీక్షతకు మఱింతశక్తిన్ వెట్టినది. నిక్కముగ నవీన కళావిలసిత మగునీ భరతఖండ మొకపండిత రత్నమును గోల్పోవుటఁగడుం గడు శోచనీయము.

శాస్త్రిగారు ముప్పదియేడు సత్సరములధ్యాపక వృత్తియందే తమజీవితమును సార్థక్యమొనరించుకొనిరి. వీరిపాండిత్యము సర్వజనాదరణీయమైగంభీరమై యతి శయించినది.

శాస్త్రమనభ్యాసముగుఁబో విషతుల్యమని పెద్దలసాంప్రదాయము. అట్టిశాస్త్రమొకదానినైనను జక్కఁగ నధ్యయనముఁ జేయుఁటయె మిక్కిలి గొప్పతనము. అట్లయ్యునునాలుగు శాస్త్రములలో సర్వోత్కృష్టమగు పాండిత్యముగడించిన వీరి వైదగ్ధ్యము మిక్కిరి ప్రశంసనీయము. ఇంతియు కాకసువర్ణమునకు సౌరభమలవడినటుల నీశాస్త్రపరిచయముతోఁబాటు సాహిత్యమునయిత మలవడియుండుటమిక్కిలిముదావహము.

కనుకనే వీరిని కంచికామకోటిపీఠాధిపతులగు శ్రీమచ్ఛంకర జగద్గురువర్యులు "దర్శనకళానిధి" అను బిరుదమొసంగిగౌరవించిరి.

అలంకార శాస్త్రమందు విశేషించి సిద్ధహస్తులగుట సామాన్యుల కలవికాని "ధ్వన్యాలోకము" మున్నగు గ్రంథములను సులభముగ గ్రహించునట్లొనరించి విద్యార్థిలోకమునకు వీరాదర్శకులైరి. కాశ్మీర దేశమునకుఁజెందిన "ఆనందవర్ధన" "అభినవగుప్త" యను మహాకవులచే విరచింపబడిన ధ్వన్యాలోక లోచనములను గ్రంథములు, దక్షిణదేశ మందలి పండితలోకములో మిక్కిరివ్యాప్తిఁజెంద లేకపోయినవి. ఈ వ్యాప్తిదోషమును బాపఁదలఁచిన వీరంతకు మున్నెయుండిన కౌముదీ వ్యాఖ్యకు "ఉపలోచన" మను వ్యాఖ్యానము స్వయముగ విరచించి లోకమునకెంతయో మహోపకార మొనరించిరి.

ఈ కావ్యాత్మను గురించి మొదటినుండియు వివిధ మతములుండి నను శ్రీ శాస్త్రులవారు వానిన న్నిటిని గ్రోడీకరించి సర్వమత సమన్వయ ముగ నుండునటుల—

శ్లో॥ ఔచితీమన్మధావంతి
సర్వే ధ్వనిరసోన్నయాః
గుణాలంకృతిరీతీనామ్
నయాశ్చానుజవాఙ్మయాః॥

అనెడు తను మతమును ముక్తకంఠమునఁ బ్రకటించి విద్వల్లోక మునకుఁ జిరపరిచితులైరి.

మదరాసు అణ్ణామలై విశ్వవిద్యానిలయములందలి ప్రాచ్య బిరుదము (Oriental Titles) లను శిష్టిక్రింద సంస్కృత ద్రావిడ భాషలకుఁ బ్రత్యేకగౌరవమును గలిగించిరి. వీనికై శిష్టప్రణాళిక (Syllabus) నేర్పరచి తదనుకూలముగ పాఠ్యగ్రంథములను (Text-Books) నిర్ణయించుటలో నధిక శ్రద్ధ వహించినవారు శ్రీ శాస్త్రుల వారే.

మదరాసు దొరతనము వారి ప్రాచ్యలిఖితగ్రంథాలయము నందుఁ దమ పరిశీలనా నైపుణ్యము చే స్వయం కృషిసల్పి సంస్కృతాంధ్ర ద్రావిడ కన్నడ కేరళాద్యముద్రితగ్రంథములకు వివరణపట్టికలను ప్రకటించి విద్యాలోకమునకు మేలొనఁగూర్చిన వారైరి.

లేకున్న నీతాళపత్ర గ్రంథములన్నియుఁ జెదల పాలుఁగావలసినదే కదా!

శాస్త్రులవారు, తమ చిరుత ప్రాయమునందే వైలాపూరు సంస్కృత కళాశాలకు బ్రధానోపాధ్యాయులుగా నియమింపబడి తత్కళాశాలనువృద్ధి కిదెచ్చిరి.

తంజావూరీ మండలములోని తిరువాడి యందలి రాజావారి సంస్కృత కళాశాలకును బ్రధానోపాధ్యాయులుగ గొంతకాలమువఱకుండి దానినికూడ మహోన్నతదశకుదెచ్చిరి.

వీరి శాంతభావమత్యద్భుతము. మందబుద్దులగు శిష్యులు సయితము వివేకసంపన్నులై గురువర్యుల పాండిత్యపటిమను బ్రకటింపజేసిరి. సజ్జనుడగు శిష్యుడు గురుప్రభ ప్రతిష్ఠకు వన్నెదెచ్చునని కాళిదాసె ప్రస్తావ వశమున నిర్వచించెను. గురు శిష్య సంయోగమే ఉపాసనకు ముఖ్యమైనదని ఉపనిషత్తులుద్ఘోషించుచున్నవికదా! ఈ యనుభవమును శ్రీ శాస్త్రులవారియొద్దజేరిన ప్రతి శిష్యునకు ననుభూత విషయమైయున్నది. అట్టివారిలో నేనొకడనైయుండుట నా పూర్వ పుణ్య విశేషమనతలయును.

దొరతనము వారిచే నొసగబడిన మహామహోపాధ్యాయ బిరుదము శాస్త్రులవారి నధిగమించి చరితార్థమయ్యెను.

భారత విజ్ఞానాభివృద్ధికి సర్వ ప్రయత్నములుగావించిన శ్రీ మహామహోపాధ్యాయ కుప్పుస్వామి శాస్త్రుల వారాధునికులలో నగ్రగణ్యులు.

అందును వీరు సంస్కృత భాషకుగావించిన సేవ అపారము.

వీరి పేరు ప్రతిష్ఠలీ ప్రదేశమందేకాక దేశదేశాంతరములవఱకు వ్యాపించినవనుట నిర్వివాదాంశము.

వీరు గావించిన ప్రాక్పశ్చిమ భాషా తత్వశాస్త్ర పరిశోధనా విధానములు (Indo-Germanic Phiolology) నిదర్శనములు.

సహృదయులు, శ్రీ శాస్త్రిగారికి మనశ్శాంతి గలుగునట్లు దేవుని ప్రార్థించుటతో విరమించక భాషా వాజ్మయముల సేవ దేశారాధనమునకుపయోగ పడునట్లు నిరంతరము గానసాగింతురుగాకని మిక్కిలి విశ్వసించుచున్నాడను.

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ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಯೂನಿವರ್ಸಿಟಿ

ಮುದ್ರಪುರೀವಿಶ್ವಕಲಾ |
ಭದ್ರಭವನದೊಳಗೆ ದೇವಭಾಷಾಚಾರ್ಯಂ ||
ಭದ್ರಮನಂ ವರಸುಗುಣಸ |
ಮುದ್ರಂ ಯಸ್ ಕುಪ್ಪುಸಾಮಿ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಯೆ ಧನ್ಯಂ ||

ಗೀರ್ವಾಣಭಾಷೆಯೊಳ್ ಮೊದ |
ಲುರ್ವಿದ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯಮಾಂತು ಬಳಿಕಮುದೆತ್ತಂ ||
ಪರ್ವಿರ್ಪ ಹೂಣಗಿರಿಯೊಳ್ |
ಗುರ್ವಂ ಪಡೆದಾಂತನಲ್ತೆ ಪಿರಿದುಂ ಜಸಮುಂ ||

ಜನಿಯಿಸಿ ಸದ್ದ್ವಿಜಕುಲದೊಳ್ |
ವಿನುತ ದ್ವಿಜವರ್ಣವಿಹಿತ ಕರ್ಮಕ್ಕಾರ್ಮಂ ||
ಎನಿಸಿಪರ್ಪ ಮೀಮಾಂಸೆಯೊ |
ಳೆನಿಸಿದನತಿನಿಪುಣಪಂಡಿತಂ ಬುಧತತಿಯೊಳ್ ||

ಸ್ವಕಪರಭಾಷಾದ್ವಯದೊಳ |
ತಿ ಕುಶಲತೆಯನಾಂತನಂತುಟಧ್ಯಾಪಕರೊಳ್ ||
ವಿಕಟಯಶಂ ಪ್ರಭುವರರಿಂ |
ಪ್ರಕಟಿತನಾದಂ ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯಂ ||

ಯತಿವರ್ಯರೊಸೆದು ಸಲೆ ಕುಲ |
ಪತಿಯೆನೆ ದರ್ಶನ ಕಲಾನಿಧಿಯು ಮೆನೆ ಬುಧವರ್ಯರ್ ||
ಕ್ಷಿತಿನುತ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಾಚ |
ಸ್ಪತಿಯೆನೆ ವಂಗೀಯರಾಂತನತಿಶಯಜಸಮುಂ ||

ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಬಿರುದಾಂಕಿತರಾಗಿ, ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಪ್ರೆಸಿಡೆನ್ಸಿ ಕಾಲೇಜಿ ನಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಯಸ್. ಕುಪ್ಪುಸ್ವಾಮಿ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರ ಪ್ರಥಮ ಸಂದರ್ಶನವು ನನಗೆ 1928ನೆ ಆಗಸ್ಟ್ ತಿಂಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಲಭಿಸಿತು. ಅಂದು ಆವ ರೊಡನೆ ಒಂದೆರಡು ಘಂಟೆಗಳಕಾಲ ನಡೆಸಿದ ಸಂಭಾಷಣದಿಂದಲೇ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರ ನಿಶಿತತರವಾದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಭಾಷಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವು ನನ್ನ ಮನಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಪರವಶಮಾಡಿತು. ಅವರು ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತುತ್ತತುದಿಯನ್ನು ಮುಟ್ಟಿದ್ದಂತೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಆದರಲ್ಲೂ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರ ಸಾಹಿತ್ಯಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಪಂಡಿತೋತ್ತಮರಾಗಿದ್ದುದು ಅಂದು ನನಗೆ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿದು ಬಂದುದಲ್ಲದೆ ಆವರು ನನ್ನಲ್ಲಿ ತೋರಿಸಿದ ಪ್ರೀತಿಯಿಂದ ಇವರು ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರಾಗಿದ್ದುದು ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ವಿದ್ವತ್ಪಪಕ್ಷಪಾತಿಗಳೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದರೆಂಬುದು ಪ್ರಕಟವಾಗಿ ತಿಳಿಯಿತು.

ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರು ದಕ್ಷಿಣದೇಶದ ಗಣಪತಿ ಅಗ್ರಹಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಉತ್ತಮ ವೈದಿಕ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣವಂಶದಲ್ಲಿ ಜನಿಸಿ ಬಾಲ್ಯದಲ್ಲಿಯೇ ಸ್ವಜಾತ್ಯುಚಿತವಾದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನಭ್ಯಾಸ ಮಾಡಲಾರಂಭಿಸಿ ಅಧರಲ್ಲಿ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಪಡೆದರು. ಇವರಿಗೆ ಶಾಲೆಗೆ ಹೋಗುವುದಕ್ಕೆ ಮೊದಲೇ ಮೂಕವಿಂಶತಿ ಮೊದಲಾದ ಹಲವು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶ್ಲೋಕಗಳು ಕಂಠಗತವಾಗಿತ್ತೆಂದು ತಿಳಿದು ಬರುವುದು. ಹೀಗೆ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷಾಭ್ಯಾಸ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಿದ್ದ ಇವರಿಗೆ ಪ್ರಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಎಲ್ಲಾ ಕಡೆಯೂ ಹರಡಿಕೊಂಡಿದ್ದ ಇಂಗ್ಲೀಷ್ ಭಾಷೆಯನ್ನೂ ಕಲಿಯಬೇಕೆಂಬ ಅಭಿನಿವೇಶವುಂಟಾಗಲು ಅದರಲ್ಲೂ M.A. ಪರೀಕ್ಷೆಯಲ್ಲಿ ತೇರ್ಗಡೆಹೊಂದಿ ಸಂಪೂರ್ಣಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಸಂಪಾದಿಸಿ ಕೆಲವು ಕಾಲ ತಿರುವೈಯಾರ್ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಧಾನೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರಾಗಿದ್ದು ಬಳಿಕ ಮದ್ರಾಸಿನಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಕಾಲೇಜನ್ನೇ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಿ ಅದರ ಅಧ್ಯಕ್ಷರಾಗಿದ್ದು ಆ (ಕಾಲೇಜ್)ಪಾಠಶಾಲೆಯನ್ನು ತುಂಬಾ ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿಗೊಳಿಸಿದರು. ಹೀಗೆ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧರಾಗಿದ್ದ ಇವರ ಉಭಯಭಾಷಾಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯದ ಪರಾಕಾಷ್ಠೆಯನ್ನು ತಿಳಿದು ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರವು ಇವರನ್ನು ಪ್ರೆಸಿಡೆನ್ಸಿ ಕಾಲೇಜಿನ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರ್ ಸ್ಥಾನಕ್ಕೆ ಆರಿಸಿಕೊಂಡಿತು. ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರು ದಕ್ಷತೆಯಿಂದ ಪಾಠಪ್ರವಚನ ಮಾಡುತ್ತಾ ಹಲವು ಮಂದಿ ಶಿಷ್ಯರನ್ನು ವಿದ್ಯಾಪಾರಂಗತರನ್ನಾಗಿ ಮಾಡಿದರು. ಪ್ರಾಯಶಃ ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಪ್ರೆಸಿಡೆನ್ಸಿಯಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಕೃತದಲ್ಲಿ ಕಾಲೇಜ್, ಹೈಸ್ಕೂಲ್, ಲೈಬ್ರರಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅಧಿಕೃತರಾಗಿರುವ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಲೆಕ್ಚರರುಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಇವರ ಶಿಷ್ಯರಲ್ಲದವರಿಲ್ಲವೆಂದೇ ಹೇಳಬಹುದು. ಇವರ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯಮಹಿಮೆಯನ್ನು ಅರಿತ ಚಕ್ರವರ್ತಿ ಸಾರ್ವಭೌಮ ಸರ್ಕಾರವು ಇವರಿಗೆ ಮಹಾಮಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯ ಎಂಬ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಪಂಡಿತರಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಹವಾದ ಬಿರುದನ್ನು ದಯಪಾಲಿಸಿತು. ಇವರ ಮೀಮಾಂಸಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಶ್ಲಾಘಿಸಿದ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಕಾಮಕೋಟಿ ಶಂಕರಾಚಾರ್ಯಯತಿಗಳು ಇವರಿಗೆ ದರ್ಶನಾಚಾರ್ಯ ಎಂಬ ಬಿರುದನಿತ್ತು ತಾವಾಗಿಯೇ ಕರೆಸಿಕೊಂಡು ಸನ್ಮಾನಿಸಿದರು. ಅಲ್ಲದೆ ಇವರು ಹಲವು ಮಂದಿ ಶಿಷ್ಯರನ್ನು ಶಿಕ್ಷಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದದರಿಂದ ಗುರುವರ್ಯರು 'ಕುಲಪತಿ' ಎಂಬ ಋಷಿವರ್ಯರಿಗೆ ಅರ್ಹವಾದಪ್ರಶಸ್ತಿಯನ್ನೂ ದಯಪಾಲಿಸಿದರು.

ಹೀಗೆ ದೇಶದಲ್ಲೆಲ್ಲಾ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತಿ ಹೊಂದಿ ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಪಂಡಿತೋತ್ತಮರೂ, ಪ್ರಸಿದ್ಧ ಅಧ್ಯಾಪಕಾಗ್ರೇಸರರೂ, ವಿದ್ವತ್ಪಕ್ಷಪಾತಿಗಳೂ ಆದ ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳು ಆಗಿನ ಸರ್ಕಾರದಲ್ಲಿ ಪ್ರಯತ್ನಿಸಿ ಪ್ರಾಚೀನ ಭಾಷಾವಿಮರ್ಶನ(ಓರಿಯಂಟಲ್ ಲಾಂಗ್ವೇಜ್ ರೀಸರ್ಚ್ ಡಿಪಾರ್ಟ್‌ಮೆಂಟ್) ಶಾಖೆಯೊಂದನ್ನು ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ವಿಶ್ವವಿದ್ಯಾನಿಲಯದಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾಪಿಸಲು ಕಾರಣ ಭೂತರಾಗಿ ಅದರಲ್ಲಿ ಸರ್ಕಾರದವರು ಕೈಬಿಟ್ಟಿದ್ದ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತಭಾಷೆಗೂ ಅಲ್ಲಿ ಸ್ಥಾನ ದೊರಕುವಂತೆ ಮಾಡಿದರು ಇದು ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರ ರಾಜಕೀಯ ವಿಷಯ ಸಾಮರ್ಥ್ಯವಿಶೇಷವನ್ನೂ ಸ್ಪಷ್ಟಗೊಳಿಸುವುದು.

ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರು ಮದ್ರಾಸ್ ಸರ್ಕಾರದ ಅಧ್ಯಾಪಕಪದವಿಯಿಂದ ನಿವೃತ್ತರಾದ ಮೇಲೂ ಅಣ್ಣಾಮಲೆ ಯೂನಿವರ್ಸಿಟಿಯ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಪ್ರೊಫೆಸರ ಕೆಲಸವನ್ನು ಕೈಕೊಂಡು ಅಲ್ಲಿಯೂ ಹಲವುಮಂದಿ ಶಿಷ್ಯರನ್ನು ಪಂಡಿತರನ್ನಾಗ ಮಾಡಿ ಹೆಚ್ಚಿನ ಯಶಸ್ಸನ್ನು ಗಳಿಸಿದರು. ಇವರು ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ ವಿದ್ಯಾವಂತರೂ ಅಧ್ಯಾಪಕಾಗ್ರೇಸರೂ ಆಗಿದ್ದುದರ ಜೊತೆಗೆ ಶಮದಮಾದಿ ಸದ್ಗುಣಗಣಗಳಿಗೂ ಆಕರವಾಗಿದ್ದುದು ಸುವರ್ಣಪುಷ್ಪಕ್ಕೆ ಸುವಾಸನೆಯು ದೊರಕಿದಂತೆ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಶೋಭಾಕರವಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಶ್ರೀಮಾನ್ ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರಿಗಳವರು ಕಾಲೇಜಿನ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಶಾಖೆಯ ಪ್ರಧಾನರಾಗಿದ್ದು ಸರ್ವಾಧಿಕಾರಿಗಳಾಗಿದ್ದರೂ ತನ್ಮಲ್ಲಿ ಓದಿದ, ಓದುತ್ತಿರುವ ವಿದ್ಯಾರ್ಥಿಗಳಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಸಹೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರಲ್ಲಿಯೂ, ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಸೌಹಾರ್ದಸೌಶೀಲ್ಯಗಳಿಂದ ವರ್ತಿಸುತ್ತಾ ಶಿಷ್ಯ ಕೋಟಿಗಳ ಮತ್ತು ಸಹಾಯೋಪಾಧ್ಯಾಯರ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ಪ್ರೀತಿಗೆ ಪಾತ್ರರಾಗಿದ್ದುದು ಇವರ ಸುಗುಣಗಳಲ್ಲಿ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ವಿಶೇಷವಾದ ಗುಣವಾಗಿತ್ತು.

ಇಂತಹ ಪ್ರಖ್ಯಾತ ಪುರುಷರ ಸಂಸ್ಕೃತ ಭಾಷಾಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯವನ್ನು ಭಾರತೀಯ ಭಾಷಾವಿದರಾಗಿ ವಿಮರ್ಶಕಾಗ್ರೇಸರರಾದ, ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯಪಂಡಿತರೂ ಕೂಡ ವಿಶೇಷವಾಗಿ ಶ್ಲಾಘಿಸುತ್ತಿದ್ದುದು ಇವರ ಅನಿತರ ಸಾಧಾರಣ ಪಾಂಡಿತ್ಯ ಮಹಿಮೆಯನ್ನು ಸರ್ವತೋಮುಖವಾಗಿ ಮುಕ್ತಕಂಠದಿಂದ ಉದ್ಘೋಷಿಸುತ್ತಿರುವುದು.

ಇಂಡೋಜರ್ಮನ್ ಫೈಲಾಲಜಿಯಲ್ಲಿ(ಭಾಷಾಶಾಸ್ತ್ರದ) ಇವರಿಗೆ ಸಮಾನರಾದ ಂಡಿತರೇ ಇಲ್ಲವಾಗಿದ್ದುದರಿಂದ ಇವರಿಗೆ ಪಂಡಿತೋತ್ತಮರಲ್ಲಿ ಒಂದು ವಿಶೇಷ ಸ್ಥಾನವೇ ದೊರಕಿದ್ದುದು ಇವರ ಯಶೋವಿಶೇಷಕ್ಕೆ ಕಾರಣಭೂತವಾಗಿರುವುದು. ಕೀರ್ತಿಶೇಷರಾದ ಇಂತಹ ಪಂಡಿತರ ಅಗಲಿಕೆಯು ನಮ್ಮಾಭಾರತ ದೇಶಕ್ಕೆ ಮಾತ್ರವಲ್ಲದೆ ಇಡೀ ಪಾಶ್ಚಾತ್ಯ ಪೌರ್ವಾತ್ಯ ವಿದ್ಯಾವತ್ಪಪಂಚಕ್ಕೇ ಅತ್ಯಂತ ವಿಷಾದವನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಿರುವುದರಲ್ಲಿ ಅತಿಶಯವೇನೂ ಇಲ್ಲ. ಜಗಜ್ಜನ್ಮಾವವಲಯಲೀಲನಾದ ಭಗವಂತನ ಇವರ ಆತ್ಮಕ್ಕೆ ಶಾಂತಿಯನ್ನುಂಟುಮಾಡಲಿ ಎಂದು ಹಾರೈಸುತ್ತಾ ಪುಸ್ತಕವಿಷಯವನ್ನು ಕೊನೆಮುಟ್ಟಿಸಿರುವೆನು.

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"വസ്സേണ വപുഷാ വാചാ വിദ്യയാ വിനയേനച" എന്നിങ്ങിനെ വകാരപഞ്ചകമാണ് വ്യക്തിവൈശിഷ്ട്യത്തിന്റെ അടിസ്ഥാനമെങ്കിൽ അവയെല്ലാം തികഞ്ഞ ഒരു മഹാപുരുഷനാണ് നമ്മുടെ ഗുരുപാദങ്ങൾ— ശ്രീമാൻ മഹാമഹോപാധ്യായ വിദ്വാൻവാചസ്പതി എസ്. കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രികൾ. ആഡംബരത്തിന്നല്ല, ആചാരത്തിന്നുവേണ്ടി മാത്രം വളർത്തപ്പെട്ട ശിഖ., വിശാലഫാലം, കനത്ത പിരിയം, തെളിഞ്ഞ കണ്ണ്, ഉത്തുംഗനാസം, മാംസളകപോലം, വട്ടമുഖം, ആജാനുബാഹുക്കൾ, മേദുരദീർഘകായം, നിറഞ്ഞ വീതി, കവിഞ്ഞ വിനയം, കനിഞ്ഞ നോട്ടം, പ്രശാന്തഗംഭീരഭാവം—ഇവ ഗുരുനാഥനെ മദിരാശിയിൽ മൈലാപ്പൂരിലുള്ള കപാലീശ്വരക്ഷേത്രനടയിൽ തന്നെയുള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വസതിയിൽ വെച്ചാണ് ഞാൻ ആദ്യമായി കണ്ടത്. സംസ്കൃതം ഐച്ഛികവിഷയമായെടുത്ത് ഓണേഴ്സിന്ന പഠിക്കുവാൻ ഉദ്ദേശിച്ചിരുന്ന ഞാൻ ആദ്യം പ്രവേശനം നിരസിക്കപ്പെട്ടതുമൂലം ഉണ്ടായ ഇച്ഛാഭംഗത്തോടുകൂടി ശാസ്ത്രികളെ നേരിട്ടുകണ്ട് വീണ്ടും അതിന്ന പരിശ്രമിക്കണമെന്ന വിചാരിച്ചാണ് അവിടെ ചെന്നത്. ഇൻറർമീഡിയറിന്ന പഠിക്കുന്ന കാലത്ത് എറണാകുളത്തെ രാജകീയ കലാലയത്തിന്റെ സുവർണ്ണജൂബിലി പ്രമാണിച്ച് നടത്തിയ പ്രദർശനത്തിന്ന ഞാൻ എഴുതി തയ്യാറാക്കിയിരുന്ന "കൌമുദി" എന്ന ഒരു സംസ്കൃതഖണ്ഡകാവ്യവും കയ്യിൽ എടുത്തിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കാണുവാൻ ഒരു തടസ്ഥവും ഉണ്ടായില്ല. പലവലിപ്പമുള്ള അനേകം പുസ്തകങ്ങളുടെ മദ്ധ്യത്തിൽ തനി നാടൻ മട്ടിൽ ഒരു പായയിൽ ഇരുന്നുകൊണ്ട് പല വിഷയങ്ങളെക്കുറിച്ചും പരിശോധനകൾ നടത്തുന്നപോലെയാണ് എനിക്ക് അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കണ്ടപ്പോൾ തോന്നിയത്. ആ വിജ്ഞാനഭാസ്കരന്റെ മുമ്പിൽ ഒരു മിന്നാമിനുങ്ങുപോലെ ഞാനും നിലകൊണ്ടു. ആഗമനോദ്ദേശം ചോദിച്ചപ്പോൾ കയ്യും ചുരുക്കിപറഞ്ഞു എന്റെ ഖണ്ഡകാവ്യം അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കാണിച്ചു. അവിടവിടെയായി ആകാവ്യത്തിലെ ഭാഗങ്ങൾ അല്പനേരം കൊണ്ടു പരിശോധിച്ചതിന്നുശേഷം "നാളെ ഫീസുംകൊണ്ടു കോളേജിലേയ്ക്കു വന്നോളൂ" എന്നിങ്ങിനെ അസന്ദിഗ്ധമായ സ്വരത്തിൽ എന്റെ ആഗ്രഹം സാധിപ്പിച്ചുംകൊണ്ടു പറഞ്ഞു. അന്നുമുതൽ ആ ഗുരുനാഥന്റെ പേരിൽ എനിക്കുള്ള ഭക്തിയും എന്റെ പേരിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പുത്രനിർവ്വിശേഷമായ വാത്സല്യവും ഉത്തരോത്തരം വർദ്ധിച്ചുവന്നു.

ഗുരുനാഥന്റെ നിർദ്ദേശമനുസരിച്ച് ഞാൻ പിറെറ ദിവസംതന്നെ പ്രസിഡൻസി കോളേജിൽ സംസ്കൃതം ഓണേർസിന്ന ചേർന്നു. സംസ്കൃതം ഓണേർസിന്ന പഠിക്കേണ്ടതായ വിഷയങ്ങളുടെ വൈവിധ്യവും പുസ്തകങ്ങളുടെ വൈപുല്യവും കണ്ടപ്പോൾ ഞാൻ അല്പം ഒന്നു അമ്പരന്നു. അവയിൽ ഓരോന്നും അഞ്ചാറുകൊല്ലം പഠിച്ചേ തീരൂ. അങ്ങിനെയുള്ള വിഷയങ്ങളും പുസ്തകങ്ങളും മുന്നു കൊല്ലത്തിന്നകം പഠിച്ച് എല്ലാപ്പരീക്ഷയിൽ സമ

ജ്ഞപീഠം കയറുവാനുള്ള ഒരു മാർഗ്ഗം യൂനിവേർസിറ്റി നിശ്ചയിച്ചിട്ടുള്ളതായി കണ്ടപ്പോഴും എനിക്കു അത്ഭുതവും ഭയവും ഉണ്ടായി. പിന്നീടാണു് അതിന്റെ ഉള്ളുകള്ളികളും മനസ്സിലായതു്. വാസ്തവത്തിൽ പരീക്ഷയെ സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയെപറ്റി കൂടുതൽ അറിവൊന്നും ആവശ്യമില്ല. എല്ലാ പുസ്തകങ്ങളും ഇംഗ്ലീഷിൽ അനുവാദങ്ങളുണ്ടു്. അതു നല്ലവണ്ണം പഠിച്ചു വിഷയങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഇംഗ്ലീഷിൽ എഴുതിവെച്ചാൽ ഒന്നാംതരം മാർക്കു കിട്ടും. നേരേമറിച്ചു സംസ്കൃതം ഓണർസല്ലെ, സംസ്കൃത ഭാഷയെപറ്റി അല്പം പരിജ്ഞാനം സമ്പാദിക്കേണ്ടെ, സിദ്ധാന്തകൌമുദി കാണ്ഡമായി പഠിക്കേണ്ടെ, സംസ്കൃതത്തിന്റെ ഉപന്യാസങ്ങളും കവിതകളും എഴുതുവാൻ പരിശ്രമിക്കേണ്ടെ, പരീക്ഷക്കടലാസ്സുകളിൽ മൂലഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളും ഉദ്ധരിച്ചു പ്രതിപാദനങ്ങൾക്കു പൊലിമ കൂട്ടേണ്ടെ, എന്നിങ്ങിനെയൊക്കെ ശ്രദ്ധഗതിയിൽ ആലോചിച്ച ആ വക വിതതവേഷങ്ങൾക്കു ഒരുമ്പെടുകയാണെങ്കിൽഎന്നെപ്പോലെ വെറും ഒരു മൂന്നാംക്ലാസ്സ്! എന്റെ സ്വതഃ സിദ്ധമായ അഭിനിവേശം കൊണ്ടാണു് ഞാൻ ഈ വിഷയം സ്വീകരിച്ചതു്. സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയേയും സാഹിത്യത്തേയും കുറിച്ചുള്ള താല്പര്യം നിമിത്തം ഞാൻ അന്നു് ഓണേർസ് അദ്ധ്യേതാക്കളിൽ ആദരം ചെയ്യാത്തതരത്തിൽ അഷ്ടാദ്ധ്യായി തോന്നിക്കുക, ഗദ്യഗ്രപത്തിലുള്ള ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളും പദ്യഗ്രപത്തിലാക്കി ചമക്കുക, സാഹിത്യസമാജങ്ങളിലും മറ്റും സംസ്കൃതത്തിൽ ഉപന്യാസങ്ങളെഴുതി വായിക്കുക എന്നിങ്ങിനെ പല സംരംഭങ്ങളിലും ഏർപ്പെട്ടു. പരീക്ഷകന്മാർക്കുണ്ടോ ഈ വക നോട്ടം. എന്നാൽ ഇങ്ങിനെയുള്ള സംരംഭങ്ങളിലെല്ലാം എന്റെ എല്ലാ അദ്ധ്യാപകന്മാരും പ്രത്യേകിച്ചു സ്വർഗ്ഗപുരുഷനായ പ്രധാനാദ്ധ്യാപകനും എനിക്കു് ഏറ്റപ്പോഴും സദുപദേശങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടും മറ്റും വേണ്ട പ്രോത്സാഹനം തന്നിരുന്നു. മൂന്നാംകൊല്ലത്തിന്റെ അവസാനമായപ്പോഴേക്കും എന്നെക്കുറിച്ചുള്ള വാത്സല്യം ഉള്ളിൽ ഒതുങ്ങാതെ പ്രത്യക്ഷമായും പരോക്ഷമായും, ക്ലാസ്സിലും പുറമേയും, വാക്കുകൊണ്ടും പ്രവൃത്തികൊണ്ടും അദ്ദേഹം പ്രകടിപ്പിച്ചിരുന്നു. പരീക്ഷാഫലം വന്നയുടനെ വെറും ഒരു മൂന്നാംക്ലാസ്സു മാത്രമാണു് എനിക്കു കിട്ടിയതെന്നു അറിഞ്ഞപ്പോഴും അദ്ദേഹത്തിനുണ്ടായ മനോവേദന ഞാൻ പിന്നീടു നേരിട്ടുകണ്ടപ്പോഴും എനിക്കറിയുവാൻ കഴിഞ്ഞു. ഗൽഗദക്ഷോഭത്തോടുകൂടി "പരീക്ഷാഫലത്തിൽ എനിക്കു യാതൊരു കുറ്റവുമില്ല. കുറ്റങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഇങ്ങിനെ വന്നു ചേർന്നു. എന്തായാലും ഇതു കയ്യിലിരിക്കട്ടെ" എന്നു പറഞ്ഞു സപരിനസ്സാലെ എഴുതിയുണ്ടാക്കിയ ഒരു സർട്ടിഫിക്കറും് എനിക്കു തന്നു് "വൃദ്ധാനേവ വിജാനാതി വിപ്രജ്ഞനപരിശ്രമം" എന്നും ചൊല്ലി എന്നെ സമാശ്വസിപ്പിച്ചു. ഭൌതികാവശ്യങ്ങൾക്കു ഉപകരിക്കാവുന്ന സർവ്വകലാശാലയിലെ ബിരുദക്കടലാസ്സിനു എന്തു വില! ഗുരുകുലത്തിലെന്നപോലെ ദീർഘകാലപരിചയത്തെ ആസ്പദമാക്കി ആ ഗുരുനാഥന്റെ അനുഗ്രഹത്തിന്റേയും വാത്സല്യത്തിന്റേയും പ്രത്യക്ഷോദാഹരണമെന്നോണം സപരമേശ്വരാ തന്നനുഗ്രഹിച്ച ആ ഒരു സർട്ടിഫിക്കറാണു് ഇന്നും എനിക്കു സർവ്വകാര്യങ്ങളിലും ഒരു പ്രചോദനമായി തീർന്നിട്ടുള്ളതു്.

ഇതുയും പറഞ്ഞതുകൊണ്ടു ഞാൻ യൂനിവേർസിറ്റി പരീക്ഷകളെ അപലപിക്കുകയല്ല, ആ ഗ്രന്ഥനാഥന്റെ സ്വഭാവവിശേഷത്തെ സോദാഹരണം സമർത്ഥിക്കുകയാണു് ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ളതു്. പ്രാചീനാദ്ധ്യയനരീതിയിൽ വിഷയക്കുറവും തലസ്പർശിപാണ്ഡിത്യവുമായിരുന്നു ലക്ഷ്യങ്ങൾ. എന്നാൽ വിഷയവൈവിധ്യവും ഉപരിപ്ലവജ്ഞാനവുമാണു് ആധുനികാദ്ധ്യയനരീതിയുടെ സ്വഭാവങ്ങൾ. പ്രാചീനരീതിയിൽ ഗ്രന്ഥകലത്തിലിരുന്നു സംസ്കൃതം പഠിച്ചു് ഏതാണ്ടു ഒരു ശാസ്ത്രപരിചയം സമ്പാദിച്ചതിനുശേഷം ആധുനികരീതിയിൽ സ്കൂളുകളിലും കോളേജുകളിലുമായി പഠിച്ചു് എം. എ. ബിരുദം നേടിയ അദ്ദേഹത്തിൽ രണ്ടു രീതികളിലേയും ഗുണങ്ങളായ വിഷയവൈവിധ്യവും തലസ്പർശിപാണ്ഡിത്യവും പ്രത്യക്ഷപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നു. ഉപരിപ്ലവന്മാരുടെ പേരിൽ അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു കേവലം അവജ്ഞയായിരുന്നു, സംസ്കൃതത്തിന്റെ അക്ഷരജ്ഞാനം മാത്രം സിദ്ധിച്ച ഉന്നതപരീക്ഷകളിൽ ബിരുദം നേടി അറിവില്ലായ്മയെ മറയ്ക്കുവാൻവേണ്ടി ഗവേഷണങ്ങളെന്ന വ്യാജേന അടിസ്ഥാനരഹിതങ്ങളും സ്വകപോലകല്പിതങ്ങളുമായ ചില നിരർത്ഥകസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളെ മുക്തകണ്ഠം നിർല്ലജ്ജം ഘോഷിക്കുന്ന ചില ആധുനിക പണ്ഡിതമന്യന്മാരുടെ ആഭാടങ്ങളെ സംസ്കൃതസാഹിത്യകേസരിയായ അദ്ദേഹം കേവലം ശിവാരുതം പോലെ പുച്ഛരസത്തോടെയാണു് വീക്ഷിച്ചിരുന്നതു്. അഗ്നികുണ്ഡത്തിൽ ശലഭങ്ങളെന്നപോലെ അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ വിജ്ഞാനതേജസ്സിൽ അവരുടെ സിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളും ഭസ്മീഭവിച്ചുപോകും. അക്കൂട്ടരെ അദ്ദേഹം ഇൻറർനക്സ് പണ്ഡിതന്മാരെന്നാണു് വർണ്ണിക്കാറുള്ളതു്. വിഷയസൂചിയില്ലെങ്കിൽ അവക്കു പാണ്ഡിത്യവും ഇല്ല. നേരേമറിച്ചു വിഷയവിചിന്തനം ചെയ്തു് പൂർവ്വാപരങ്ങളെ മനസ്സിലാക്കി ശാസ്ത്രസിദ്ധാന്തങ്ങളെ കരതലാമലകംപോലെ കണ്ടറിയുവാൻ അഭ്യസിക്കുന്നവരാണു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ കണ്ണിലുണ്ണികൾ. അവക്കു വേണ്ട സഹായങ്ങളും പ്രോത്സാഹനങ്ങളും അദ്ദേഹത്തിൽനിന്നു് എന്നും ലഭിക്കും.

പ്രാചീനരീതിയിൽ ശാസ്ത്രാഭ്യാസം ചെയ്തു് പ്രഖ്യാതിനേടിയ പണ്ഡിതാഗ്രേസരന്മാർ ഭാരതഭൂമിയിൽ ധാരാളം ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നു, ഇപ്പോഴും ഉണ്ടു്. പക്ഷെ അവക്കെല്ലാം ആ ശാസ്ത്രങ്ങളിൽ പൂർവ്വപക്ഷസമാധാനങ്ങളെക്കൊണ്ടു അമ്മാനമാടി മറവുള്ളവരെ അത്ഭുതപ്പെടുത്തുകയല്ലാതെ ശാസ്ത്രതരങ്ങളായ ലൌകികവിഷയങ്ങളെപ്പറ്റി സരളമായി പ്രതിപാദിക്കുവാനൊ എഴുതുവാനൊ ഉള്ളസാമർത്ഥ്യം വളരെ വിരളമാണു്. എന്നാൽ ആധുനികരീതിയിൽ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസം സിദ്ധിച്ച ഇദ്ദേഹത്തിനു ശാസ്ത്രവിഷയങ്ങളിലെന്നപോലെ മറ്റു ലൌകികവിഷയങ്ങളിലും പ്രസംഗിക്കുവാനും എഴുതുവാനും ഉള്ള പാടവം അന്യാദൃശം തന്നെയായിരുന്നു. സാഹിത്യമഹാരണ്യത്തിൽ സവ്യസാചിയെപോലെ സംസ്കൃതവും ഇംഗ്ലീഷും തുല്യപ്രാഗത്ഭ്യത്തോടുകൂടി കൈകാര്യം ചെയ്യുവാനുള്ള പ്രാവീണ്യം അദ്ദേഹത്തിനൊന്നു വേറെതന്നെയാണു്. ഭാഷാശാസ്ത്രത്തിൽ (Philology) അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അഭിപ്രായങ്ങൾ പാശ്ചാത്യഗവേഷകന്മാർക്കുകൂടി മാർഗ്ഗദർശകങ്ങളായിരുന്നു.

അദ്ധ്യാപകൻ എത്രതന്നെ യോഗ്യനായാലും അദ്ധ്യേതാക്കളുടെ കഴിവു കണ്ടറിഞ്ഞു, അതിനു യോജിച്ച വിധത്തിൽ അദ്ധ്യാപനം നടത്തുകയല്ലെങ്കിൽ ആ പ്രയത്നം തീരെ വിഫലമാണു്. ഈവിഷയത്തിൽ ഗുരുനാഥന്റെ സാമർത്ഥ്യം പ്രത്യേകം പ്രസ്താവ്യമാണു്. യാസ്കന്റെ നിരുക്തം ഓണേർസ് അദ്ധ്യേതാക്കൾക്കു ഒരുപാഠപുസ്തകമാണു്. അതു ഞങ്ങളെ ഒരദ്ധ്യാപകൻ പഠിപ്പിച്ചു.പക്ഷെ മീമാംസയിലൊ മറ്റൊ ഒരു പ്രകൃതം വന്നപ്പോൾ നിരുക്തത്തിലെ ഒരു വിഷയത്തെപ്പറ്റി ശാസ്ത്രീകരം ഞങ്ങളോടു ചില ചോദ്യങ്ങൾ ചോദിച്ചു. ആരും സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞില്ല. ഗ്രന്ഥം പഠിച്ചിട്ടില്ലെന്നു അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു മനസ്സിലായി. അതിന്റെ നിദാനമെന്തെന്നും അദ്ദേഹം ക്ഷണത്തിൽ ഊഹിച്ചു. ഗ്രന്ഥത്തിലെ പ്രതിപാദനരീതി അറിയാത്തതുകൊണ്ടാണു് ഞങ്ങളുടെ ബുദ്ധിമുട്ടെന്നു കണ്ടപ്പോൾ ആ ഭാഗത്തെക്കുറിച്ചു പറഞ്ഞു മനസ്സിലാക്കി. ക്ഷണത്തിൽ വിഷയങ്ങളെല്ലാം ഞങ്ങൾക്കു വിശദവുമായി. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അദ്ധ്യാപനസാമർത്ഥ്യം അന്നു് എന്നെ ആശ്ചര്യഭരിതനാക്കി.

പ്രാചീനഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ പ്രകാശിപ്പിക്കയല്ലാതെ സ്വയം ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ എഴുതി പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തുക അദ്ദേഹം ചെയ്തിരുന്നില്ല. എന്നാൽ ഇന്നത്തെ ലോകത്തിൽ "ഉച്ചൈരുച്ചരിതവ്യംയൽ കിഞ്ചിദജ്ഞാനതാപി പുരുഷേണ, മൂഢാ വിശ്വസ്യന്തെ വിദ്വാംസമപിസംശയൊ ഭവതി" എന്നാണല്ലൊ മയ്യാദ. അതുകൊണ്ടുതന്നെയായിരിക്കാം അന്തസ്സാരമുള്ള അദ്ദേഹത്തിനു അത്തരം സംരംഭങ്ങളിൽ ആസക്തിയില്ലാതിരുന്നതു്. ഒരിക്കൽ അധീകൃതന്മാർ, സ്വന്തം കൃതികളും വല്ലതും എഴുതി പ്രസിദ്ധപ്പെടുത്തീട്ടുണ്ടൊ എന്നു് അദ്ദേഹത്തോടു ചോദിച്ചു എന്നും പ്രശസ്തപദങ്ങളെ അലങ്കരിക്കുന്ന പണ്ഡിതവരേണ്യന്മാരായ തന്റെ ശിഷ്യന്മാർ തന്നെയാണു് തന്റെ കൃതികളും എന്നു അദ്ദേഹം സമാധാനം പറഞ്ഞുവെന്നും കേട്ടിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ശ്രീമാൻ ചിന്ന സ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രീകരും, ഡാക്ടർ സി. കുഞ്ഞൻരാജാ മുതലായവരെല്ലാം അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശിഷ്യന്മാരാണു്. ലേഖനത്തിന്റെ ദൈർഘ്യത്തെ ഭയന്നു് ഞാൻ അവരുടെ സംജ്ഞയെപ്പറ്റിയോ യോഗ്യതകളെ പറ്റിയോ കൂടുതൽ എഴുതുന്നില്ല.

ആ കൂട്ടത്തിൽ ആ മഹാപുരുഷന്റെ ശിഷ്യനാകുവാനുള്ളഭാഗ്യം സിദ്ധിച്ച ഒരു വ്യക്തിയാണല്ലൊ ഞാനും. എന്നാൽ പലകാരണങ്ങളാലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ അധികം ദീർഘമായ അനുനയനകാലത്തിനുശേഷം ധാരാളമായി അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കാണുന്നതിനും ആ വഴിക്കു കൂടുതൽ വിജ്ഞാനം സമ്പാദിക്കുന്നതിനും എനിക്കു കഴിഞ്ഞില്ല. ആ വിജ്ഞാനഭാസ്കരൻ അസ്തമിച്ചുവെങ്കിലും അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ പ്രകാശം അന്തേവാസികളായ താരാഗണങ്ങളിൽ പ്രതിഫലിച്ചു് തമോമയമായ ഇന്നത്തെ അന്തരീക്ഷത്തിലും മാർഗ്ഗദർശിയായി തീരുന്നുണ്ടു്. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ആത്മാവിനു നിത്യശാന്തി ഭവിക്കട്ടെ. അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ സ്മാരകമായ ഈ ഗവേഷണകേന്ദ്രം ഉത്തരോത്തരം സർവ്വോൽകർഷേണ വർത്തിക്കട്ടെ. ഗുരുചരണാരവിന്ദേഭ്യൊ നമഃ

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സദസ്യുക്കെല്ലാം, വെവ്വേറെ നമസ്കാരം;
അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനു വിശേഷിച്ചും!

ഇയ്യിടയിൽ, വളരെക്കാലമായി കണ്ടിട്ടില്ലാത്ത ഒരു പരിചിതൻ എന്നോടു ചോദിച്ചു:— 'വയസ്സെത്രയായി?' ഞാൻ ചിരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടു, 'മുപ്പതു മുപ്പത്തഞ്ചു്' എന്നു മറുപടി പറഞ്ഞു. ഇതു പ്രയോഗവിനെ അത്ര വിശ്വസിപ്പിച്ചില്ല. 50–55-ായി എന്നാണു് ഞാൻ കരുതിയതു്" എന്നദ്ദേഹം അക്കം തിരുത്തിയപ്പോൾ, ഇരുപതോ പതിനഞ്ചോ മുരുങ്ങിക്കിട്ടിയല്ലൊ എന്നു ഞാൻ ആശ്വസിച്ചു. എന്നാൽ, ഈ അടവു്—വയസ്സു കുറച്ചു പറയൽ— ഇനിമേലിൽ നടക്കുകയില്ല. ഈ മാസം 17-ാംനു- ഇവിടെ മ്യൂസിയം ഹാളിൽ എനിക്കു ഒരുപഹാരം തരാനായി ചേന്ന സംഭയയസ്സിൽവെച്ചു് ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടു് വക്കീൽ ശ്രീ: കുട്ടികൃഷ്ണമേനോൻ എനിക്കെഴുപതായി വയസ്സെന്നു പ്രസംഗിച്ചു വിട്ടു;അദ്ധ്യക്ഷനായിരുന്ന ഹൈക്കോട്ടു് ജഡ്ജി ശ്രീ: ഗോവിന്ദമേനോൻ അതിന്നനുകൂലമായി വിധിയും പ്രസ്താവിച്ചു കളഞ്ഞു! രണ്ടുപേരും എന്റെ ഉറ്റ സ്നേഹിതന്മാരാണെന്നതാണു്.

അങ്ങിനെ എഴുപതുകാരനെന്നു പ്രഖ്യാപിക്കപ്പെട്ട കിഴവൻമദിരാശിയിൽനിന്നു സ്വസ്ഥാനത്തേയ്ക്കു തിരിച്ചിട്ടു പത്തുനാൾ തികയുന്നതിന്നുമുമ്പേ, വീണ്ടും നാനൂറോളം നാഴിക പിന്നിട്ടു് ഇവിടെവന്നു ചേർന്നതിൽ നിങ്ങൾക്കു അത്ഭുതമോ, അനുകമ്പയോ തോന്നേണ്ടതില്ല: ആറു വർഷങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പേ നിയ്യോഗമടഞ്ഞ കുപ്പുസ്വാമിശാസ്ത്രികളെക്കുറിച്ചു് എനിക്കുള്ള ഗുരുഭക്തി വിശേഷം ഒരു മൃദുലപാശമെന്നപോലെ, അനായാസമാംവണ്ണമാണു്, എന്നെ ഇങ്ങോട്ടാകർഷിച്ചതു്! ആ പാശത്തിന്നു്, രണ്ടു വിശേഷരേണുസ്പർശങ്ങളുടെ—ഈ മാസത്തിന്റെ ആദിയിൽമാത്രം പരിചയപ്പെട്ട ഡാക്ടർ രാഘവൻ, ചിരന്തനമിത്രമായ ഡാക്ടർ കുഞ്ഞൻരാജാ എന്നിവരുടെ —സ്നേഹനിബന്ധം പിരിമുറുക്കവും കൂട്ടി. അങ്ങിനെ കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രി ഗവേഷണസമിതിയുടെ സമ്മേളനത്തിൽ സംബന്ധിക്കുക എന്ന അവശ്യകർത്തവ്യത്തിൽ എന്നെ പ്രവർത്തിപ്പിച്ച ഇവരിരുവരിലും എനിക്കു് അകൈതവമായ കൃതജ്ഞതയുണ്ടു്.

ചില സംവത്സരങ്ങൾക്കുമുമ്പു മൈസൂരിൽ നടന്ന ആറാംഇന്ത്യൻഓറിയന്റൽ കോൺഫ്രൻസ്സിനു ഞാനും ക്ഷണിക്കപ്പെട്ടിരുന്നു. വിശാലരമണീയമായ തത്സമ്മേളനശാലയിൽ പ്രവേശിച്ചപ്പോൾഎന്റെ ദൃഷ്ടിയെ ഒന്നാമതായാവർജ്ജിച്ചതു്, മൻവരിക്കസാലകളിൽ തൊട്ടുതൊട്ടിരിക്കുന്ന ചിലരുടെ ഏകരൂപമായ വേഷവിധാനമാണു്. ഒരുതരം കസവുതലപ്പാവു്; നടുനെറ്റിമേൽ വെടിയ ഗോപിക്കുറി, ഇടയിലിടയിൽ സ്വർണ്ണവട്ടോടും നടുവിൽ കൊത്തുപണിയുള്ള പൊൻപോളകൊണ്ടു പൊതിഞ്ഞ വലിയ രുദ്രാക്ഷത്തോടും കൂടിയ രുദ്രാക്ഷമാല കഴുത്തിൽനിന്നു ഞാന്നുകിടക്കുന്ന മാറിടവും മീകച്ച കസവുവേല ചെയ്തിട്ടുള്ള മുകന്ന സൽവകൊണ്ടുള്ള ഏ

റാപ്പ്; വെളുത്ത പാളത്താറുടുപ്പ്—ഈ അസാധാരണവേഷന്മാർ അന്നത്തെ മൈസൂർ മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ ആസ്ഥാനപണ്ഡിതന്മാരാണെന്ന്, അന്വേഷണത്താൽ എനിക്കു മനസ്സിലായി: അവർക്കു ഭംഗിയേറിയ ഭവനങ്ങളും, സുഖമായ കാലക്ഷേപത്തിനുവേണ്ടുവോളം ശമ്പളവും മഹാരാജാവു കല്പിച്ചു കൊടുത്തിരുന്നു. പണ്ടത്തെ ഭാരതരാജാക്കന്മാർ പണ്ഡിതന്മാരേയും കവികളേയും യഥാർഹം പൂജിച്ചുപോന്നിരുന്നുവല്ലൊ; അതിന്റെ ഒരു ചെറിയ അവശേഷം അന്നു് മൈസൂർ രാജധാനിയിൽ കാണമാറായി! ചില വിഷയങ്ങളിൽ പഴയ രാജാക്കന്മാരുടെ ഒരു നേരിയ ഛായയുണ്ടായിരുന്നു, ആ മഹാരാജാവിനു്. മഹാരാജാവിന്റെ സംസ്കൃതഭാഷാഭ്യുത്സുകതയിൽ പൊന്നും പട്ടും ചാർത്തിക്കപ്പെട്ട ഏകാദശശുദ്ധന്മാരാണെന്നു തോന്നും, ആ പദവിയൊന്നുപേരെ കണ്ടാൽ.

ആ കണ്ണാടകീയരായ ശാസ്ത്രകോവിദന്മാരും ഒന്നമ്പരക്കുമാറു് ഒരു പ്രഭാഷണം സഭാമണ്ഡപത്തിൽ ആരംഭിച്ചു. അതിന്റെ ഉടമസ്ഥന്മാർ വെളുത്തുനന്തിയ തലപ്പാവും കാൽമുട്ടോളമെത്തിയ വെള്ളക്കുപ്പായവും ധരിച്ച ഒരു തേജസ്വിയായ ദ്രാവിഡബ്രാഹ്മണനായിരുന്നു. അദ്ദേഹം സഭാഭാഷയായ സമീഴിൽത്തന്നെയാണു് സംസാരിക്കുന്നതെന്നതേ, ബധിരനായ എനിക്കു് ആദ്യം തോന്നിയതു്. എന്നാൽ, ഒരു സമീചീനമായ സംസ്കൃതപ്രസംഗമായിരുന്നു അതു്. ആ ഭാഷണധോരണി ഇളംകാറ്റിൽ ഓളം തുള്ളുന്ന കുവേരിനദിപോലെ അങ്ങിനെ ഒഴുകിക്കൊണ്ടിരുന്നു. സദസ്സിലെങ്ങും ഒരു അനിർവ്വചനീയമായ ബഹുമാനവും ശ്രദ്ധയും വ്യാപിച്ചു. അഹോ ആരാണീ ഭൂലോകവാചസ്പതി? നമ്മുടെമഹാമഹോപാധ്യായൻ കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രികൾ തന്നെ!

അതിനു മുമ്പും പിമ്പും ഞാൻ അദ്ദേഹത്തെ കണ്ടിട്ടില്ല; അന്നും അദ്ദേഹത്തെ സമീപിച്ചു വന്ദിപ്പാൻ അവസരം കിട്ടിയതുമില്ല. ആ സന്ദർശനം ആദിമവും അന്തിമവുമായിരുന്നു. തഞ്ചാവൂർ ജില്ലയിലെ ഗണപതുഗ്രഹാരമേ, 1880 ഫിബ്രുവരിയിൽ കുപ്പുസ്വാമിയുടെ ജനനത്താൽ നിനക്കു കൈവന്ന ധന്യതയിൽ ഒരംശം കേരളത്തിനുമില്ലെന്നില്ല. ഒരുകാലത്തു ശാസ്ത്രികളുടെ തറവാട്ടു് ശങ്കരാചാര്യരുടെ നാട്ടിലായിരുന്നുവെന്നു ശാസ്ത്രികൾ തന്നെ പറയാറുണ്ടു്. അതേ, ചിരന്തനമായ വേഴ്ചമൂലം താൻ തമിഴനാടിനു കൊടുത്ത ഒരു ശ്രേഷ്ഠസന്താനമാണു് കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രികളെന്നു മലനാടിനു ഒട്ടൊക്കെ അഭിമാനിക്കാം. ഇദ്ദേഹവും, രണ്ടുമാസത്തിനുമുമ്പെ മൃതിയടഞ്ഞ കേരളമഹാകവി ഉള്ളൂർ എസ്. പരമേശ്വരയ്യരും ഒരേ കൊല്ലത്തിലാണു് (1905) തന്നെ, എം. എ. പരീക്ഷയിൽ വിജയം നേടിയതു്.

എം. എ. പരീക്ഷയിൽ ജയിച്ചതോടുകൂടി, ഇന്നത്തെ മിക്ക പഠിപ്പുകാരെന്നപോലെ, പൂണ്ണകാമത്വം കൊള്ളുകയല്ല ശാസ്ത്രികൾ ചെയ്തതു്; അദ്ദേഹം നിരന്തരപരിശ്രമംകൊണ്ടു വൈദുഷ്യത്തെ വളർത്തിപ്പോന്നു. ഇംഗ്ലീഷിലും സംസ്കൃതത്തിലും വളരെ വളരെ ശാസ്ത്രഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ അദ്ദേഹം അവഗാഢമായി വായിച്ചിട്ടുണ്ടു്. ഏതൊരു സദ്ഗ്രന്ഥവും കിട്ടിയാൽ വായിക്കാതിരിക്കയില്ല; വായിച്ചതു മറക്കുകയുമില്ല. കേരളത്തിലെ

കൈക്കളങ്ങര രാമവാരിയക്കൊത്ത (അരനൂറ്റാണ്ടിനു മുമ്പു മരിച്ചു) മേധാശക്തിയും ഗ്രഹണശക്തിയും കുശാഗ്രബുദ്ധിയും കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രികൾക്കു ക്രൂടെ പിറപ്പായിരുന്നു. അസാധാരണമായ വൈദുഷ്യം വിഭവത്തിനൊത്തതാണു്. ഒന്നിലധികം സംസ്കൃതകോളേജുകളിൽ പ്രിൻസിപ്പാൾ സ്ഥാനവും പ്രസിഡൻസി കോളേജിൽ സംസ്കൃതാദ്ധ്യാപകപീഠവും അലങ്കരിച്ചതാണു് ശാസ്ത്രികളുടെ ശിഷ്യസമ്പത്തു്. ഇന്നു ദക്ഷിണഭാരതത്തിലുള്ള പല പ്രസിദ്ധ പണ്ഡിതന്മാരും കാളേജുകളിലുള്ള എം. എ. ക്കാരും ഇദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ശിഷ്യരത്രെ. അങ്ങിനെ ആ മഹാൻ വേണ്ടുവോളം സമ്പാദിച്ചു. വേണ്ടുവോളം ദാനവും ചെയ്തു. പഠിക്കുക പഠിപ്പിക്കുക എന്നിവ മാത്രമാണു് അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ യാവജ്ജീവകൃത്യങ്ങളും. ശിഷ്യവാത്സല്യത്തിലാകട്ടെ, ഒരു ദ്രുഷിതന്നെയായിരുന്നു ശാസ്ത്രികളും. പഴമയുടെ ആഴവും പുതുമയുടെ പരപ്പുമൊത്തതായിരുന്നു ശാസ്ത്രികളുടെ വിജ്ഞാനസമുദ്രം; അതിന്റെ തിരമാലകളും—പ്രശസ്തങ്ങളായ പ്രഭാഷണങ്ങളും ഉപന്യാസങ്ങളും—എളുപ്പത്തിൽ എണ്ണിത്തീർക്കാവുന്നവയല്ല.

മദിരാശി ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ ഗ്രന്ഥാലയം ഇതുയും ഉന്നതമാക്കപ്പെട്ടതു് ശാസ്ത്രികളുടെ ഗ്രന്ഥസംഭരണശില്പത്താലത്രേ: ക്യൂറേറ്ററുടെ നിലയിൽ അദ്ദേഹം പണിപ്പെട്ടു തിരഞ്ഞു കണ്ടുപിടിച്ച പ്രാചീനസംസ്കൃതഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളുടെ സംഖ്യ ചെറുതല്ല. അദ്ദേഹം പ്രസിദ്ധീകരിച്ച വിവരണസഹിതമായ ക്യാറ്റലോഗ് നിങ്ങൾ കണ്ടിട്ടുണ്ടാകും. മണ്ഡനമിശ്രന്റെ വിഭ്രമവിവേകം, ബ്രഹ്മസിദ്ധി എന്നിവയെ ശാസ്ത്രികൾ ശ്രദ്ധിപ്പെടുത്തി അച്ചടിപ്പിച്ചിട്ടില്ലായിരുന്നുവെങ്കിൽ ആ മഹാഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങളുടെ പേർപോലും നാം കേൾക്കുമായിരുന്നുവോ? വിവേകിയായ വിപശ്ചിത്തു, ഗുണവാനായ ഗുരു, ലോകദൃശിയായ ലേഖകൻ, പ്രഗൽഭനായ പ്രഭാഷകൻ, ഗവിഷ്ണുപ്രയത്നനായ ഗ്രന്ഥസമ്പാദകൻ എന്നിവരെല്ലാം കുപ്പുസ്വാമിശാസ്ത്രികളിൽ കൂടികൊണ്ടിരുന്നു! മദിരാശിസംസ്കൃതംഅക്കാഡമി, ജണ്ണൽ ഓഫ് ഓറിയന്റൽ റിസർച്ച് എന്നിവയുടെ സ്രഷ്ടാവും സർവ്വകലാശാലയിലേ പൌരസ്ത്യബിരുദങ്ങളുടെ വ്യവസ്ഥാപകനും മറ്റാരുമല്ലല്ലൊ.

സ്വഭാഷയായ തമിഴിനെ തഴപ്പിക്കുന്നതിലല്ല, അമരഭാരതിയെ പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിലാണ്, ശാസ്ത്രികളും ശ്രദ്ധ ചെലുത്തിയതു്: അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്നറിയാം, എല്ലാ ദേശീയഭാഷകളുടേയും തായ്‌വേർ സംസ്കൃതമാണെന്നു്; കൊമ്പുകളിലല്ല, കടയ്ക്കലാണല്ലൊ നനയ്ക്കേണ്ടതു്. ഗൈർവ്വാണിറാണിയുടെ അനുഗ്രഹമായ ഔദാര്യത്താലത്രേ, ഭാരതത്തിലെ ഭാഷകളും സമൃദ്ധിനേടിയതും, നേടുന്നതും, നേടുവാൻ പോകുന്നതും. "ബുദ്ധൻ സ്വാശയങ്ങളെ പാലിഭാഷയിൽ വെളിപ്പെടുത്തിയതിനാലാണു്, അവയ്ക്കു് ക്ഷിപ്രപ്രചാരം സിദ്ധിച്ചതു്; എന്നാൽ, ഭാരതോടൊപ്പം സംസ്കൃതത്തേയും പ്രചരിപ്പിക്കേണ്ടിയിരുന്നു." എന്ന വിവേകാനന്ദവചനം ഇവിടെ അർത്ഥവത്താകുന്നു. "ആശയങ്ങളെ നാട്ടുഭാഷയിൽ പഠിപ്പിക്കണം; അതോടൊപ്പം സംസ്കൃതാധ്യാപനവും നടത്തണം." എന്നതത്രെ സ്വാമിയുടെ അഭിപ്രായം. സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയല്ലാതെ മറ്റൊന്നുമല്ല ഭാരതത്തെ ഭാരതമാക്കിയതു്. ഭാരതീയങ്ങളായ

യ സങ്ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾക്കും സംസ്കാരങ്ങൾക്കുമായി മറ്റു രാജ്യങ്ങൾ കൈമലർത്തിക്കാട്ടുന്നതിൽ അത്ഭുതമൊന്നുമില്ല. ഇരുപതോളം സംവത്സരങ്ങൾക്കു മുമ്പു ഇന്ത്യയിൽ വന്നു് ആറുമാസം താമസിച്ചു്, സ്വരാജ്യമായ അമേരിക്കയിലേക്കു തിരിച്ചുപോയ ഡാക്ടർ വിൽഡ്യൂറാൻറ്—ഇദ്ദേഹം കൊളമ്പിയാ സർവ്വകലാശാലയിലെ തത്വശാസ്ത്രാദ്ധ്യാപകനായിരുന്നു—ന്യൂയോർക്കിൽവെച്ചു പ്രസംഗിച്ചതിലെ ചില വാക്യങ്ങൾ ഞാൻ നിങ്ങളെ കേൾപ്പിക്കാം:— "യൂറോപ്യൻ ഭാഷകളുടെ മാതാവായ സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയുടെ ഗൃഹം തന്നെ, ഇന്ത്യയത്രേ. നമ്മുടെ ഭാഷയുടേയും തത്വചിന്തയുടേയും മാതാവും ഇന്ത്യതന്നെ; ഗ്രാമപഞ്ചായത്തുകൾ മൂലം, പ്രാചീനയൂറോപ്യൻറേയും അമേരിക്കയുടേയും പ്രജാധിപത്യത്തിൻറെ ഈറ്റില്ലവും, ഇന്ത്യതന്നെ. ഭാരതഭൂമാതാവു് ഒരു തരത്തിൽ നമ്മുടെയെല്ലാം മാതാവാണു്!" ആ അമേരിക്കൻ തത്വജ്ഞാനി ഇന്ത്യയുടെ പ്രീതിക്കുവേണ്ടി 'മംഗിപറഞ്ഞതല്ല ഇതു്. പരിഷ്കൃതരാജ്യങ്ങളിലെല്ലാംതന്നെ അഭിജ്ഞന്മാർക്കു ഭാരതത്തേയും അതിൻറെ മൂലഭാഷയായ സംസ്കൃതത്തേയും കുറിച്ചു വലിയ ബഹുമാനമാണുള്ളതു്.

എന്നാൽ, നമ്മുടെ ചില ഉല്പതിഷ്ണുക്കൾ—അഥവാ ഉല്പതിഷ്ണുതപം നടിക്കുന്നവർ—സംസ്കൃതത്തിൻറെ നേരെ കണ്ണുരുട്ടാൻ തുടങ്ങിയിട്ടുണ്ടു്! ഒന്നരണ്ടു കൊല്ലത്തിനുമുമ്പു ഒരു സാഹിത്യശിരോമണിക്കാരൻ എഴുതിയിരുന്നു, അറപതുകൊല്ലത്തേയ്ക്കു് സംസ്കൃതപഠനം നിർത്തിവെയ്ക്കണമെന്നു്; ഡിഗ്രിയോടൊപ്പം തസ്തിക ഉദ്യോഗം ലഭിച്ചില്ല എന്നതത്രെ പ്രധാന കാരണം. തൊഴിലില്ലാത്ത കൈവിരലുകൾ ഇതിലപ്പുറവും എഴുതിയേക്കാം; എന്നാൽ കൊറില്ലാത്തതിൽ കോപിച്ചു സ്വന്തം പുര ചുട്ടെരിപ്പാൻ പന്തമെടുക്കുന്നവർ ഒരു സാധാരണ മനുഷ്യനായിരിക്കയില്ല. കൊല്ലംതോറും ആയിരക്കണക്കിൽ പുറത്തിറങ്ങുന്ന ബിരുദധാരികളെയെല്ലാം ഉടനടൻ ഉദ്യോഗത്തിലിരുത്തുക സാധ്യമാണോ? ഇയ്യിടയിൽ ഒരു വകുപ്പിലേയ്ക്കു ഇരുപതഞ്ചു ഗ്രമന്ഥന്മാരെ എടുപ്പാൻ നിശ്ചയിച്ചു പരസ്യംചെയ്ത മദിരാശി ഗവർമ്മേണ്ടിനു മുപ്പായിരം എം. എ ബി എ. ക്കാരുടെ ഹരജികൾ കിട്ടിയെന്നു പത്രത്തിൽകാണുകയുണ്ടായി.

ലജ്ജയുണ്ടെങ്കിലും, പരമാർത്ഥം പറയാതിരുന്നുകൂടല്ലൊ: ഇന്ത്യക്കു തനതായി സംസ്കാരമൊന്നുമില്ലെന്നും, എല്ലാം ഈജിപ്തിൽ നിന്നോ മറേറാ വന്നിറങ്ങിയതാണെന്നും ഉപന്യസിപ്പാൻ തുനിഞ്ഞെടുത്ത ഒരു വമ്പിച്ച ചരിത്രാന്വേഷകനും എൻറെ നാട്ടിലുണ്ടു്; ആ വിദ്വാനെ ആചാര്യപീഠത്തിലിരുത്തി പൂജിപ്പാൻ പൂന്തള്ളുന്നവരായും ചിലരുണ്ടു്. അവരുടെ ഒരു മഹാകവി, 'ജടയുടെ പനയോലച്ചൂരൽകൊണ്ടു—ആഷ്ഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ—പെറുക്കിയെടുത്തു് തിയ്യിലെറിയണമെന്നുകൂടി നീട്ടിനീട്ടിപ്പാടിയിരിക്കുന്നു! മഹാകവേ തൻറെ കുടുമ്മക്കാർക്കൊക്കെ അറിയാം, ആ ഓലക്കീറുകൾ അനാശ്വരങ്ങളാണെന്നു; കത്തിപ്പടർന്ന വിദേശീയാക്രമണത്തീയ്യിൽ നിന്നുപോലും സ്വപ്രയത്നത്താൽ രക്ഷപ്പെട്ടവയാണെന്നു! മുങ്കുറുംകിഴങ്ങുമല്ലെങ്കിലും, സൂര്യരശ്മികൾ വെളിച്ചം വിരിച്ചുകൊണ്ടിരിക്കും.

പ്രിയ ഭ്രാതാക്കളെ, സ്വഭാഷകൾക്കു വെട്ടപ്പും പരപ്പും വളർത്തുവാൻ നിങ്ങൾ അഭിലാഷിക്കുന്നുണ്ടോ? സനാതനങ്ങളായ സംസ്കാരങ്ങളെ സംരക്ഷിക്കേണമെന്നു നിങ്ങൾക്കു തോന്നുന്നുണ്ടോ? ഉണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, നമ്മുടെ ഈ സൂര്യപുരുഷനെ അനുവർത്തിച്ചു സംസ്കൃതപ്രചാരണത്തിൽ അങ്ങേഅറ്റംവരെ പരിശ്രമിക്കയേ പോംവഴിയുള്ളൂ. സംസ്കൃതത്തിൽ ഒരു സ്ഥൂലജ്ഞാനമെങ്കിലും വേണം, ദേശഭാഷാസാഹിത്യത്തെത്തന്നെയും ശരിക്കാസ്വദിപ്പാൻ. വാല്മീകിവാണിയുടെ വരം കിട്ടിയതുകൊണ്ടല്ലയോ, കമ്പരും തുളസിദാസനും തുകാരാമനും മറ്റും രാമചരിതത്തെ അതു അന്തസ്സിലും ചന്തത്തിലും ഗാനം ചെയ്യുവാൻ ശക്തരായതു? ആധുനികദ്രാവിഡ മഹാകവി സുബ്രഹ്മണ്യഭാരതിയും പൊതുജനങ്ങളിൽ രാജഭക്തിയെ പ്രോജ്ജ്വലിപ്പിച്ചതു, സംസ്കൃതത്തിരികൊണ്ടുതന്നെ. ഭാരതിയുടെ ഭാസുരങ്ങളായ കൃതികളുടെ കയ്യെഴുത്തു പ്രതികൾ ഫോട്ടോവിലെടുത്തു കുഴൽപ്പാംഗളാവിൽ വെപ്പാൻ മഹാരാശിഗവർമ്മേണ്ടോലോചിക്കുന്നതു് അത്യന്തം അഭിനന്ദനാർഹമായിരിക്കുന്നു.

"ഭാഷാവിഷയത്തിൽ ഇന്ത്യയോടു കിടനില്ക്കുന്ന ഒരു രാജ്യമില്ല: യൂറോപ്യൻ വ്യാകരണത്തിന്റെ പിതാവായ അരിസ്റ്റോട്ടലിന്റെ കാലത്തിന്നെത്രയോ മുമ്പുതന്നെ ഭാരതീയവ്യാകരണം പൂർണ്ണദശയെ പ്രാപിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു." ജെ. എൻ. ഫാക്ക്ഹാർ എന്നു ചിന്തകന്റെ പ്രസ്താവമാണിതു്. ഹിമാലയാപർവ്വതംപോലെ അക്ഷോഭ്യമായ ഒരു വ്യാകരണം ലോകത്തിലുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ, അതു സംസ്കൃതഭാഷയുടെതാണെന്നു ആരും സമ്മതിക്കും. എന്നാൽ വ്യാകരണങ്ങളെ വകവെയ്ക്കുന്നതും, നിഘണ്ടുക്കളെ നിരസിക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതും, പദ—പദാർത്ഥങ്ങളെ പരിചിന്തിക്കുന്നതും വാക്യങ്ങളെയഥേഷ്ടം വളയ്ക്കാതിരിക്കുന്നതും ഒരുതരം അടിമത്തമാണെന്നുള്ളതു, ചില പുത്തൻക്രാറുകാരുടെ ഭാവം. ഒരു കോളേജുപ്രഫസർ—ദേശഭാഷാധ്യാപകനാണെങ്കിലും സംസ്കൃതവ്യാകരണമൊക്കെ തൊണ്ടതൊടാതെ വിഴുങ്ങിയ വിരുതനാണെന്നു ഞാൻതന്നെ ഉദ്ഘോഷിച്ചപ്പോഴുള്ള ഒരു 'സാഹിത്യകുശലൻ'—സ്വാർത്ഥം ഭരിക്കുവം എന്നൊരു പദം സൃഷ്ടിച്ചിരിക്കുന്നു. ആ കുശലന്റെ പ്രാമാണികത്വം വിശ്വസിച്ചു് മറ്റൊരെഴുത്തുകാരൻ അതു പകർക്കയുണ്ടായി. എന്തുകൊണ്ടുപാടില്ല, ഉദരംഭര്യാദികളുടെ പന്തിയിൽ സ്വാർത്ഥം ഭരിക്കും ഇരിപ്പിടം കൊടുത്തുകൂടെയോ? പണ്ടു് ഒരു വിദ്വാൻ 'ഇക്ഷ്വാകുണാ' മെന്നാകാമെങ്കിൽ (അസ്മാകം എന്നതിന്നു പകരം) അസ്മാകുണാമെന്നുമാകാമെന്നു വാശി പിടിച്ചപോൽ; ആ വൈയാകരണവയ്യൻ പുനർജന്മനിർമുക്തനായിട്ടില്ലായിരിക്കാം!

നിങ്ങളെ ചിരിപ്പിക്കാനല്ല, ഇന്നേത്തെ സംസ്കൃതപഠനത്തിന്റെ അസഹനീയമായ അസാമഞ്ജസ്യം തെല്ലൊന്നു സൂചിപ്പിക്കാനാണു് ഞാൻ ഇതിവിടെ പറഞ്ഞതു്. വിശുദ്ധമായ വ്യുല്പത്തിയും വിചാരശീലത്വവും ഉള്ള വാക്കാത്ത പഠിപ്പു പഠിപ്പല്ല; അത്തരം പഠിപ്പുകൊണ്ടു ഒരു കുപ്പുസ്വാമിശാസ്ത്രികളെ നമുക്കു വീണ്ടും കിട്ടുകയുമില്ല. ഇന്ത്യയുടെരാഷ്ട്രഭാഷയായി ഹിന്ദി നിർദ്ദേശിക്കപ്പെട്ടതു്, സംസ്കൃതത്തിന്റെ തൽക്കാലിക സ്ഥിതിക

രുതിമാത്രമാണ്; വാസ്തവത്തിൽ സംസ്കൃതംതന്നെയാണ്, ഈ ആഫ്രാജ്യത്തിന്റെ പൊതുഭാഷയാകേണ്ടത്. ഒരുനൂറ്റാണ്ടുകൊണ്ടെങ്കിലും അതു സാധിക്കത്തക്കവണ്ണം അത്യുജ്ജിതമായിത്തീരണം, നമ്മുടെ സംസ്കൃതപ്രചാരണയത്നം. ഇതിൽ നമുക്കു ഗവമ്മേണ്ടിന്റെ സാഹായ്യം വേണ്ടുവോളമുണ്ടാകുമെന്നുറപ്പിക്കാം: നമ്മുടെ വിദ്യാഭ്യാസമന്ത്രിയായ ഈ അല്യുക്ഷൻ ഒരു മാസത്തിനുമുമ്പു മലബാറിൽ വെച്ച് ഇക്കാര്യം തുറന്നുപറഞ്ഞിരിക്കുന്നു; നിസ്സഹായതാഭാവം ഒരിക്കലും നമ്മെ ബാധിക്കേണ്ടതില്ല.

ഗ്രന്ഥസംഭരണപദ്ധതിയിലും ശാസ്ത്രികളുടെ കാല്പാടുകളെ നാം മുറയ്ക്കു പിന്തുടരണം. തെന്നിന്ത്യയിൽത്തന്നെയുണ്ട്, ഇന്നുതന്നെ ഒട്ടേറെ ശ്രേഷ്ഠഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ മറഞ്ഞുകിടക്കുന്നു. മധുരാവിജയമെന്ന മധുരകാവ്യത്തിന്റെ പ്രണേത്രിയായ ഗംഗാദേവിയാൾ, 'ചതുസ്സപ്തതികാവ്യൈക്തി വ്യക്തവൈദുഷ്യസംപദേ' എന്ന വിശേഷിക്കപ്പെട്ട അഗസ്ത്യഭട്ടന്റെ എഴുപത്തിനാലു സംസ്കൃത കാവ്യങ്ങളിൽ ബാലഭോരമെന്നേ വെളിച്ചത്തു വന്നിട്ടുള്ളൂ. ഇതുപോലെ അജ്ഞാതനാമാക്കളടേയും ഉത്തമഗ്രന്ഥങ്ങൾ എത്രയെത്രയുണ്ടായിരിക്കില്ലെ? നമ്മുടെ പൂർവ്വസമ്പത്തുക്കളെ എങ്ങിനെയെങ്കിലും നാം കൈവശപ്പെടുത്തുകതന്നെ വേണം. ഇതിൽ ഇറങ്ങി പ്രവർത്തിപ്പാൻ നമ്മെ തികച്ചും ധൈര്യപ്പെടുത്തുന്നവയല്ലയോ, ഇന്ത്യാ പ്രധാനമന്ത്രി ജഗൽപൂജ്യനായ ജവഹർലാൽനെഹ്റു, രണ്ടു മാസങ്ങൾക്കുമുമ്പു ചെയ്ത ഒരു പ്രസംഗത്തിലെ ഈ വാക്യങ്ങൾ:—"ഭാരതത്തിന്റെ വമ്പിച്ച നിധിയും പാരമ്പര്യവും എന്താണെന്നു എന്നോടു ചോദിച്ചാൽ സംസ്കൃതഭാഷ എന്നായിരിക്കും എന്റെ ഉത്തരം.....അതിനെ പോഷിപ്പിക്കുകയും, വിസ്മൃതപ്രായമായ അതിന്റെ അടിയിൽ പൂഴ്ന്നുകിടക്കുന്ന സാഹിത്യത്തെ ആരാഞ്ഞെടുത്തു് വെളിക്കുകൊണ്ടുവരികയും ചെയ്യാൻ പണ്ഡിതന്മാരെ ഏല്പിക്കേണ്ടതുണ്ടെന്നു് എനിക്കാഗ്രഹമുണ്ടു്."

കുപ്പുസ്വാമി ശാസ്ത്രികൾ ജീവിച്ചിരിക്കെ, അദ്ദേഹത്തിന്റെ ജന്മനക്ഷത്രം കൊണ്ടാടുന്നതിൽ ക്ലേശമില്ല, ശ്രാദ്ധാദിനാരാധനത്തിൽ ചേരുമാണ്, മന്ദഭാഗ്യനായ എനിക്കു സംഗതിവന്നതു്. അഥവാ ശാസ്ത്രികളെപ്പോലെയുള്ള ശാശ്വതപ്രതിഷ്ഠരെസ്സംബന്ധിച്ചേടത്തോളം ചാത്തവും പിറന്നാളും ഒരുപോലെതന്നെയെന്നു സമാധാനിക്കാം. സ്വർഗ്ഗതനായ ഹ്രോകനി ഞ്ഞനുഗ്രഹിച്ചാലും: അങ്ങയെ അനുസ്മരിച്ചാരാധിക്കുന്ന ഈ സമിതിസാരസ്വതജ്യോതിസ്സിനാൽ പ്രശോഭിക്കുമാറാകട്ടെ!

വള്ളത്തോൾ.

FOREWORD

In this small volume are gathered together the appreciations of the many friends and admirers including pupils of the late Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar. I first came into contact with him in the office of Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar who indented on his superior knowledge of the Mimamsa for the interpretation of Smrti texts. I have seen him in the Senate of the Madras University fighting for the causes he had at heart. I have seen him at closer quarters in the Annamalai University where we were both members of the Senate and Syndicate together. It is only now that I realise that he was six years younger than myself. I always paid him the respect due to a senior in age. That he was senior was an impression produced, I think, by the depth of his learning.

The combination in him of the Pandit's depth of learning with the most modern methods of research was so obvious a feature of his, that it receives mention in many appreciations here. I have heard him discourse in Samskrit with easy intelligibility, very rare in one of his deep learning.

Sir P. S. Sivaswami Aiyar used to remark that one of his profound learning could and should have produced many books. He has repeated it in his appreciation included in this volume. It is not perhaps in the tradition of a *Kulapati* to write books but only to teach all day long a vast number of pupils and be an exemplar to them. Till the end he believed that he would die an octagenarian and would perform the last offices to the mother who unfortunately survived him. Had he the length of life in retired leisure he hoped for he might have had time to write books. As it is, the Chronological Index prefixed to this volume and the appreciations of his many pupils show how active and strenuous his life has been.

He had done a great deal for Samskrit in his time, but even he would not have been able to stem the tide of opposition to Samskrit that is now in evidence.

The condition of *Samskrit Education* to-day is only a test of our love for Samskrit. True lovers of Samskrit in and out of the Samskrita Academy and Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute may yet do much to foster the cause of Samskrit education. If the cause of Samskrit education languished and failed, it will be our fault. We the members of the Academy and the Institute owe it to the memory of Sri Kuppuswami Sastri to promote Samskrit study.

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VEDIC STUDY—ITS HISTORY AND ITS FUTURE*

BY

PROF. LOUIS RENOU

It is exactly hundred years that the scientific study of the Vedas may be said to have begun in Europe and in India. Of course there have been from the 17th century, or even from the 16th, isolated travellers and missionaries who might have acquired some vague acquaintance with the Vedas. A French missionary of south India, Father Calmette, had made copies of numerous Vedic texts in Telugu script. A copy of the Ṛg Veda, the first of its kind, thus arrived in Paris as early as 1731. But these treasures could not be immediately utilised. The texts which found their way to France were written in characters difficult to read and still more difficult to interpret. There was no commentary, no grammar, no dictionary, not even the help of a living interpreter. The well-known French traveller Anquetil-Duperron, who travelled alone and in no official capacity in India in the middle of the 18th century, rendered signal service to Orientalism by the discovery of a text of the Avesta and by his Latin translation of the Upaniṣad, based on a Persian version. But ardently as he liked it, he could not have recourse to original Sanskrit texts. At the end of the century, one might say, our knowledge had in a way receded back. Some like the traveller Sonnerat began to doubt the existence of the Vedas and were inclined to consider the Vedic texts as mere forgery. Voltaire's denunciation of the Ezour-Vedam or the Rick-Ved as an imposition and his definition of the same as "science of divination" tended to induce some to error and to confirm a sceptic spirit in others.

On the whole, the first really precise information that we possess about the Vedic literature is conveyed to us by Colebrooke in his famous essay "On the Vedas or sacred writings of the Hindus" which appeared in the Asiatick Researches in Calcutta in 1805. It is not without reason that this little book has been considered as the cradle of Vedic studies. Colebrooke had been able to profit by the assistance of several Pandits in India. He could also consult the complete copy of the Vedas which had been acquired several years before at Jaipur and had been deposited in the British Museum. Henry

*One of the lectures delivered by Prof. L. Renou during his tour of India in 1948-1949.

Thomas Colebrooke was indeed the first European to be the teacher of Sanskrit, having been appointed in that capacity, in the Fort William College in 1801.

Thanks to the habitual perspicacity of this scholar of genius, the Vedic texts are described with remarkable precision; the scope and general limits of this literature are well defined. Yet with a fatality which one frequently encounters in Vedic studies, Colebrooke concluded his masterpiece with the pessimistic peroration, "The preceding description may serve to convey some notion of the Vedas. They are too voluminous for a complete translation of the whole; and what they contain would hardly reward the labour of the reader, much less that of the translator.....But they well deserve to be occasionally consulted by the Oriental scholar." This remark was rather calculated to discourage future research.

In fact, several decades were yet to pass before the Vedic studies could be genuinely inspired by the current of scientific progress. As ill luck would have it, incidental preoccupations and then his premature death prevented the eminent French scholar Eugène Burnouf from publishing the work on the Veda which he had prepared and of which the draft still slumbers unedited in the drawers of the Bibliotheque Nationale. Burnouf was passionately interested in the Vedas. His lectures in Paris, in the College of France, had been followed by nearly all who were destined to distinguish themselves one day in the Vedic studies, notably Goldstücker, Roth and Max Müller. One can say, without being accused of exaggeration, that Vedic philology in the first stage of its development centres round Burnouf.

It is now a hundred years that this philology came to be organised. I have been wishing for the past one or two years (and there is still time for it) that the centenary of the Vedic studies should be commemorated by certain articles and reviews. It was in 1846 that Max Müller, on his arrival in London undertook by the incentive of Burnouf the collation of the manuscripts of Ṛksaṃhitā and the Sāyanabhāṣya. The preface to the first Volume of this monumental work dates back to October, 1846. In 1846 also appeared a small book by Rudolf Roth which was a brilliant development of the old sketch of Colebrooke, "Zur Litterattur und Geschichte des Weda." The same year, another grand pioneer of Indology in Germany,

prepared his *Yajurvedae specimen cum commentario* prelude to his great edition of the Yajurveda. One can ascribe to the same period, if not a year or two earlier, the preparation of the extraordinary edition of the Sāmaveda, procured by Benfey, the preparation of the translations of the Ṛksaṃhitā in English by Wilson and in French by Langlois and lastly the commencement of lexicographical research which was to culminate in the publication of the grand Sanskrit-German dictionary by Böhtlingk and Roth, a work unsurpassed till today.

It is not my intention to dwell at great length on the efforts, considerable and systematic that they are, that have been made in the domain of Vedic study both in the West as well as in the East. It has been ascertained that in Europe at least, during three quarters of a century, half of all that has been written on India has been devoted exclusively to the Vedas. One may regard this as disproportionate. One might consider that other branches of culture-history, diffusion of Buddhism, mediaeval Indian literature etc. would have afforded more fruitful fields of enquiry. Without doubt, they would have proved more agreeable and I have hardly the necessity of reminding you of this, that nothing is as severe and furnishes for the layman less interesting reading than the Vedic literature, as a whole. But this monotony of the Vedic literature is a common characterestic of more or less all the great scriptures that constitute the foundation of religions. What is there more montonous than the sacred texts of Buddhism, of Jainism and should we say, a part at least of the Bible and the Koran as well. The Veda can claim over them the advantage of its antiquity which enhances its value to us. Perhaps they are not in their entirety the most ancient of the texts of the Indo-European world but they are, by all means, the most ancient of literary documents. And from the Indian point of view they form the source and the earliest outline of all the speculations and the various modes of thought that have marked the Indian mind in the course of its long evolution.

The hymns of the Vedas have been justly described by your great poet as "a poetic testament of a people's collective reaction to the wonder and awe of existence. A people of vigorous and unsophisticated imagination awakened at the very dawn of civilisation to a sense of inexhaustible mystery

that is implicit in life. It was a simple faith of theirs that attributed divinity to every element and force of Nature but it was a brave and joyous one, in which the sense of mystery only gave enhancement to life, without weighing it down with bafflement."

It should be noted, in passing, that Tagore was decidedly moved by Vedic inspiration. He has been subject not only to the influence of the Upaniṣad as it goes without saying, but also to that of the antique hymns. Our writer Andre Gide was not mistaken when in the course of translating into French the Gitanjali of Tagore he was struck by the resemblance to one passage of the Ṛgveda. He cites the poem of Gitanjali which opens with " when the creation was new and all the stars shone in their first splendour, the gods held their assembly in the sky and sang "Oh, the picture of perfection; the Joy unalloyed" and adds, "the sudden access of polytheism in this poem, unique as it is in the Gitanjali will not be surprising to those who remember the admirable stanza of the Ṛgveda- " Who verily knows and who can here declare, whence comes this creation? Who knows whence the world first came into being. He whose eye controls the world in highest heaven, he verily knows it, or perhaps he knows not, "yo asyādhyakṣaḥ parame vyoman so anga veda yadi vā na veda."

One may as well compare with the splendid hymns to Dawn, the poems to Light in the Gitanjali, notably "Light, my Light, the world-filling light, the eye-kissing light, heart-sweetening light." It is the 'rodasiprām agnim' of the old Ṛṣis.

Rightly or wrongly, it has been frequently observed that the speculation in Post-Vedic India has been dominated by a pessimistic conception of the world and of human nature. In fact one does not very frequently come across the joyous movement, the happy inspiration and feeling of repose in the literature of India. Now the Vedic poems seem to bear strong testimony, at least in places, to this ardour of living and rapture of happiness which mankind has very often lost, since then. In that remote age, man does not supplicate to the gods for escaping from the redoubtable necessity of rebirth. He prays on the other hand for the full span of existence, the life of hundred years, the joy of having robust sons and beautiful daughters and wealth in the form of cattle and harvest; and he prays for the pleasure of Paradise, to

boot, after his death. Even the language and the style by their extraordinary vitality aim at attesting, so to say, to this exuberance of joy of a people in its youth. They bring into clear relief the exaltation kindled in them when they have newly found access to the rich plains of North-western India after having emerged out of the rugged defiles of the mountains.

German scholars have, for a long time, played a preponderating part in the Vedic studies. Perhaps this preference was due in some of them to the satisfaction of finding in the Vedas, a sort of Aryan Bible which could be legitimately pitted against the Semitic Bible. A racial instinct has unconsciously coloured their work, on occasions. Again the Germans as founders of Comparative Grammar have a taste for linguistic observation which has been flattered by the richness of the forms of language in the Vedas. Lastly the romantic tendency has been particularly powerful in the Germanic territories. It was this tendency which impelled them to search in the Vedas for the ideal vision of what might have formed primitive humanity, an idyllic and pastoral people devoted to the cult of Nature and always prone to adore the dawn, the sun, the fire and water. No one has sought more to emphasise this conception than that scholar of German origin but early naturalised in England, the celebrated Max Müller. A curious and extremely engaging personality, Max Müller is the author of a highly technical work viz. the model edition of the Prātiśākhya of the Ṛgveda. He is also the author of works deeply tinged with lyricism and poetic fantasy. He has developed in hundred diverse ways, the thesis of the Vedas considered as primitive and almost spontaneous outburst. The reaction against this tendency has manifested itself in the same Germany among savants like Weber, Pischel, Hillebrandt and Oldenberg,—particularly Oldenberg, that impeccable scholar who is the author of the finest book that has been written for the general public on the Religion of the Vedas. In France also, this reaction of a most decisive character has been represented in Bergaigne. The great book of Bergaigne, entitled La religion Vedique d'apres les hymnes du Ṛgveda has not been received either in Franee or abroad with the resounding applause which it deserved. It was however an astoundingly original endeavour which has never since been followed up in the same magnitude, the endeavour to

penetrate into the intimate thoughts of the poets of the Vedas. But how confounding it was for the reader, who, hitherto accustomed to find in the Vedas, naturalist poets and the echo of a naive people was now called upon to look here for a whole mass of abstruse conception, an intense sacerdotalism and a refined scholasticism somewhat given to pedantry. How to reconcile oneself to these contradictions of scientific criticism? And meanwhile it had been incumbent to try to steer one's way clear through the paradox. The exigencies of scientific labour demanded that one should limit himself very often to work which is all the same indispensable *e. g.* editing, literal translation and learned monographs. But when one is in the presence of a document as singular and as unique in its character as the Ṛgveda, one is tempted to extract its secret. One would like to understand what the Ṛṣis had in their mind when they went on accumulating the most strange imagery with the most disconcerting paradoxes. This is precisely what was attempted by Bergaigne towards the eighties of the last century. One may say today that his efforts have partially succeeded in the sense that it is no longer possible to revert to that interpretation of the Veda which he has condemned. It is true that in seeking to fit forcibly all the divine images of mythology into the cadre of Agni or Soma, he has failed to carry conviction. But he was the first to perceive that the authors of the Ṛgveda have tried to establish a correlation among the celestial phenomena and human behaviour, that they have wanted by means of sacrifice to reproduce certain aspects of the atmospheric or the planetary world. On the whole Vedic thought at this stage is already on a fair way to the formulation of doctrine and the divinisation of sacrifice which, as Sylvain Levi was to demonstrate, characterise the stage of the Brāhmaṇas. Vedic thought, as it is well established today, is the thought of correlation and connection. It now remains to establish the affinity and interrelationship among these heterogeneous phenomena. This is what, in the Upaniṣads, was to culminate as a result of progressive dichotomy, in a system of generalised identifications, transcribed by the equation ātman=brahman or by the famous formula *tat tvam asi*. The word Upaniṣad by itself signifies "approach", that is to say the setting up of a relationship or equivalence, and not "reverence" or "esoteric teaching" as it was once conceived.

But the details of all these still await definition and many indeed are the difficulties yet to be resolved before one could hope one day to accomplish a definitive or even satisfactory translation of a single hymn of the Ṛgveda.

I have cited the names of several French and German scholars. Other countries have also produced excellent Vedic scholars. Thus there are Whitney and Bloomfield from the United States, Macdonell and Keith from England, Caland from the Low Countries; and the latter has been, along with Weber, the best European authority on rituals. Strangely enough, the Indian scholars have appeared relatively late in the field. One wonders if an excessive regard for the tradition (a feeling highly worthy of respect, as such) has not prevented them from considering the Vedas with sufficiently objective vision and with the sort of detachment with which the naturalist studies a specimen.

The philologue, most completely divested of all predilections, which India in the last century has produced, I mean the great Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, has written hardly anything on the Veda. He had been interested above all in more positive studies, like history and the classical periods. He has, however, defined with extreme exactitude the linguistic position of the Veda in the first of his Wilson Lectures, written in 1877, styled, 'Development of language and of Sanskrit.'

At the extreme end in opposition stands the work of Dayānanda Sarasvati, the founder of Ārya Samāj. This work would, besides, afford an interesting study. Evidently it does not concern itself with scientific study, it is a matter of faith. Dayānanda, as you know, has fought ardently to restore Indian religion to its pristine purity. In his opinion the various sects have disfigured the ancient monotheism. This purity and monotheism he professes to discover in the Saṃhitās of the Veda. This appears highly paradoxical when one considers that the religion of the Ṛgveda is, at least in appearance as polytheistical as that of the Purānas. But Dayānanda reinterprets the Vedas on this basis and is incidentally led to certain conclusions which retain their value still today. He urges a "return to the Vedas with a passionate ardour that is implemented by social behaviour with progressive and democratic leanings. Surprising as it is, it is well understood when we reflect that the social restraints which have weighed

over India, the caste-system and its attendant circumstances, are hardly, if at all, borne out in the hymns of the Vedas.

I would like to pause and ponder for a while on the curious features of another Indian erudite, Bhattacharya Satyavrata Sāmaśramin. I am not aware of any study made in India on the life and work of this remarkable man. Sāmavedin by profession and typically traditional by education, his activities, I am afraid, have today gone the way of oblivion as has the review *Uṣā* which he had founded. He was acquainted with the main results achieved by Western scientific methods, but his position was always one of complete independance. He would, at his will, subscribe to the opinions generally accepted in learned circles or swing back to the opposite extreme. He would accept, by turns, the reasoning which we may call properly scientific, or again the method of exposition of Indian commentators, the process of argument which is a legacy of the Mīmāṃsā. His Niruktālocana or considerations on the Nirukta published in about 1885 would have attracted more interest if it had been composed in English instead of Sanskrit. It is a work on the whole range of historical problems provoked by the Vedas and we come across many reasonable views. But the chronology he proposes is the most fantastic that one can imagine. It is on the point of chronology that the specialists on Veda divide themselves into adventurous groups. Satyavrata Sāmaśramin starts with the assumption that Pāṇini's date is the 23rd century before Christ. Proceeding from this starting point he makes the authors of the Kramapāṭha, then those of Padapāṭha, of Kalpa, of Brāhmṇas, etc., recede back by successive periods of increasing duration till at last he is driven back to an antiquity of numerous millions of years. "Who could have ventured at this distance of time to ponder over such a chronology," he exclaims himself.

Talking of the spirit of adventurous chronology, though however in a much lesser degree, I would like to recall the name of another Indian endowed with a type of genius and more well-known than the Pandit of Niruktālocana, I refer to Bal Gangadhar Tilak. His works on the Vedas comprise the Orion or Researches into the antiquity of the Vedas, 1893 and the Arctic home in the Vedas, 1903. Tilak has been, besides, a great political figure and one of the first architects of Indian independence. It is striking to observe how in him, as in

Dayānanda, Vedic studies, have been combined with the temperament of a man of action. He also deserves to be intensively studied. The Orion had created some stir in the scholarly world. With brilliant erudition and profound mastery in astronomy and anthropology, he was led to claim an antiquity of some 45 to 60 centuries for the Vedic literature. In "The Arctic home" he professed to have discovered clearly defined traces of the epoch when the Hindus with their collateral (brethren) groups of other Aryas dwelt in the North Pole some ten or fifteen millenniums before Christ. It was the production of a man of acute intelligence but it illustrates also the danger of building history or prehistory on some mere philological possibilities.

Today the antiquity of the Vedic texts has been considerably reduced, perhaps excessively. So, we do not believe, for various reasons, that the invasion of the Aryan tribes into India can be assigned to a date beyond the second millennium before Christ. One is therefore obliged to place the date of the Ṛgveda within the hither limit of this extreme date. For, however much one may have doubted it and inspite of probable reminiscences of an Iranian habitat, the Ṛgveda is an Indian document; that is to say, it is not only composed by the Indians, but in India, in the land of the seven Rivers. It may be admitted that the Indus civilisation as it has been revealed to us by excavations at Mahenjo-Daro and Harappa has been destroyed verily by the Vedic tribes. One may detect allusion to this destruction in the Vedic references to strongbuilt forts and to the war of the Ten Kings. But even on this hypothesis we are pushed back to fairly narrow limits. On the other hand, the major portion of Vedic literature had been already composed before the advent of Buddhism. It implies therefore that the mass of this literature has been elaborated and fixed first orally and then in writing during ten to twelve centuries. This however is not impossible to conceive. We have found in other literature linguistic changes within a limited period of time, analogous to what has taken place between the most ancient Mantras and the prose of the Upaniṣad, closely allied to classic prose. But this precludes the chronological vagaries prevailing erstwhile.

Now, therefore, after 100 years of uninterrupted research we are well equipped for the future. We possess good works on grammar, the language of the Mantras is known with a

precision comparable to that of Homer or of Virgil. We have or we are likely to have very soon all the dictionaries we desire, when the grand lexicographic enterprise directed by Visvabandhu Sastri shall be achieved. A great part of the texts is edited and many have been translated, and happily translated into English and German. Nowhere else has a philological work been accomplished more conscientiously. Within the body of Indianists, the Vedic experts, unjustly ridiculed for having formed a somewhat closed coterie with esoteric tendency, are nevertheless distinguished by their probity and their precision. All who were destined to be Indianist, commenced their career in Germany by publishing some Vedic text.

And meanwhile one cannot feel sure that light has dawned in its fulness. There is a sort of fatality that hovers over this study. Without being as nebulous as before, the Vedas rest still impenetrable in parts. I mean at least the Ṛgveda and the Atharvaveda, the two bastions that command this literature as a whole. One knows above all, what the Veda is not. It is not, as I have already mentioned, primitive poetry, and naive effusions to Nature. It typifies a symbolic language adapted to certain precise ends. Vedic mythology which is given us in a broadly allusive and fragmentary manner could not be interpreted except by recourse to ritual. Myths and rites are mutually related and one can be explained only as the function of the other. The divinities of the Vedas possess certain ritual functions. They are like the priests of a celestial liturgy analogous to human liturgy. Their behaviour and the myth-making process to which they have been subject, symbolise these functions at least partially. Hillebrandt had clearly noted it before. His Vedische Mythologie, one of the major achievements of Indology in the West in the last century, had been cencieved in terms of the function of ritual. The difficulty is to ascertain how in each individual instance the relation between what is mythic and what is liturgic presents itself. It is to this aspect that our researches should now be directed. In this respect the efforts which V. M. Apte and his students make for precisely defining the relations between the Mantras and the rites to which they are associated are of extreme interest.

For the successful achievement of research in this direction it would be useful to have a new description of mythology

more complete and should I say, more intelligent, (though it is useful, in a way) than that of Macdonell; Dr. R. N. Dandekar may undertake that work. For the cult, solemn as well as domestic, we have now the excellent analysis recently furnished by Professor Kane in his History of Dharmaśāstra. This great work happily comprehends much more than the title indicates. This is to be one of the source-books for the future. Much also can be expected from the preject of the new edition of the Vedic index of names and subjects, if the plan of the same be sufficiently enlarged to embrace the Kalpa and the minor texts which had been unfortunately absent from the earlier edition which has rendered such service. In Poona they have envisaged the compilation of the whole body of rituals under the direction of the Vaidic Saṃśodhaka Maṇḍala. The grand things accomplished in India notably in the critical edition of the Mahābhārata, and the works which have been commenced or planned in the domain of history of India, of Indian philosophy and let us not forget it, the Thesaurus, show what we can anticipate in the near future. The subjects for scientific work in India are practically unlimited and the zeal for grand cultural enterprises shall never be found lacking in a country which has once given birth to literary productions the most exhaustive in the record of mankind.

It should be observed that amidst this medley of work very few Vedic books—and for the matter of that,—very few Sanskrit books in general, have been translated. The only translation of any Śrautasūtra is that in German by Caland. The Indians do not feel as much the necessity of translating undoubtedly because Sanskrit is so much akin to their understanding. When they are at all inclined to translate, they are impelled by the legitimate desire to translate in Hindi, Bengali or Marathi, rather than in English; I regret this tendency. If one wishes to restore to Vedic study the prestige which it once enjoyed and if one wants to open an access to it to the linguists of all the countries, to the ethnologists and historians of religion, more and more annotated translations must be produced. Just regard the extraordinary success even outside the circle of Indianists, achieved by the book of Dumont, the Sanskritist of Baltimore, the book entitled Aśvamedha. It was only the French translation of several passages of the Vedas relative to the sacrifice of the Horse. These texts

had, so to say, passed unnoticed as long as they had been in Sanskrit, scattered in books difficult of access. A new position has been secured for these books in the West among specialists in pre-history of Indo-European world when they are rendered accessible through a modern living language. The same Mr. Dumont has recently undertaken the translation into English of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa which had been begun before the war by Professor S. M. Katre. It is urgently needed to edit and translate the Jaiminīya which is the richest in legend among the whole range of ancient Brāhmaṇas and which still remains the least known.

Talking of another branch of thought, it is regrettable that the "Vedic Variants" of Bloomfield, continued by Edgerton should be definitely suspended. Would not any erudite Indian like to accomplish the task by keeping himself on a line with Edgerton?

The various branches of the same learning divide themselves voluntarily in ancient India, in different schools. We hear of schools of poetics, medicine, grammar etc. Just as we hear of religious sects or just as one classifies the Purāṇas and the Tantras. In each case this classification should be without doubt, interpreted differently. Certain authors have, in full conscience, composed new treatises which though drawing largely from earlier works treat with the subject more or less independently. In the sphere of smṛti the problem of the schools is already fairly complicated. For it concerns texts which are anonymous or one might say apocryphal, and are of uncertain date and are based frequently on earlier sources now lost. Has it not been long presumed that there existed a Vedic source at the base of the Manusmṛti?

In the Vedic literature, too, there are schools which are here known as Śākhās or branches. This simile recalls the image of a branches issuing from a common trunk. This is just what tradition has sought to imply and certainly this imagery has a substratum of truth. One cannot imagine that the descriptions of rituals that one meets with, in Āpastamba, Baudhāyana, Bhāradvāja etc., to confine ourselves to the order of Yajurveda alone, should have been made independently. They derive from a common base. But this common base is too remote to be clearly grasped. In other words, I do not believe it possible to rediscover the source of these diverse branches of knowledge and to reconstitute them as one

reconstitutes an archetype when one is sufficiently in possession of manuscripts derived from the common original. One would therefore like to know the reality lurking behind the names of these Vedic schools, their mutual relationship and how it is possible to have a glimpse of the way in which they are constituted, developed or split up. There lies the whole problem of Vedic literature. In spite of the enormous loss suffered by this literature, the attested facts should suffice to launch this study. After Bhagavaddatta who has written in Hindi a primary history of the Vedic schools, I have myself undertaken the task in a book recently published. But I am the first to recognise that the definitive history is still to be written.

Behind all literature there stands a society. Anything concrete that one can elicit from the texts is so much gained out of the conventional. But here also many are the difficulties when one strives to catch hold of the reality behind the texts, strictly religious, elusive by nature and perhaps deliberately so. We would welcome with satisfaction the researches, not yet published, of my colleague Filliozat on medicine in the Vedic age. He demonstrates more precisely than has been hitherto done, that the medical knowledge of the Indians, notably in the age of the Atharvaveda is already highly advanced and that it admits of comparison on many points with the knowledge contained in the classic treatises of Suśruta or Caraka. In more than one instance one can explain by means of Suśruta or Caraka certain obscure data of Atharvaveda, the name of diseases, and even the outline of speculation that is to be utilised in medicine, the doctrine of humour, and the theory of the breath of the body in harmony with the breath of aerial space. We should follow with interest also the researches, in progress, on Vedic society by Dr. U. N. Ghosal. It does not seem possible that, on closer examination of the texts, one will be able to determine if the Vedic regime was normally one of monarchy and if this monarchy was hereditary or elective, despotic or tempered by the assembly or council of ministers. Or if the caste system with all its consequences had been already fixed down.

There are reasons to believe that early Buddhism had utilised and in utilising, had transformed many elements of speculation belonging to the Vedas. Previously it was believed possible to establish certain bonds uniting the Buddhist Sūtras

with the Upaniṣads. Their dialectic methods bear certain resemblance. But it is held nowadays that the ties are stronger though less apparent between Buddhism and the Veda strictly speaking, or the Brāhmaṇas. My countryman Mr. Mus in his work on Borobodur which appeared before the war, has cited certain cosmological evidence to explain the monument of Borobodur in its speculative aspect, of which the origin is traced by him to the Vedas notably in the extraordinary ratiocinations of the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa concerning the creation of the altar to fire (Agnicayana). Miss Silburn undertook and has already accomplished in manuscript a magnificent work in which she occupies herself chiefly in comparing the philosophic vocabulary of Buddhism with that of the Brāhmaṇas.

Thus the Vedas slowly emerge out of the splendid isolation to which there were confined by philology of the past. These new efforts, if the truth must be said, are not without possibility of danger or disappointment if one is tempted to exaggerate their scope. The same remark applies where the linguistic comparison is closely pursued. Thus between the Ṛgveda and the Gāthās of the Avesta, there is a gulf to divide them from the religious point of view. The Vedas are not an Indo-European document as it was once believed. It is not again, as Pischel was inclined to maintain, an Indian document depicting a sort of court life, as in the Gupta period, with its circle of court beauties and its environment of race course, etc. The sensational excavations at Mohenjo-Daro and Harappa will undoubtedly induce some to connect the Vedas directly with this civilisation, however difficult of definition this civilisation by itself may be. The attempt has already been made though I believe that no high hopes should be entertained on this matter.

In the beginning of the war, a German scholar named Benda declared that the Vedas had been entirely misconstrued and that he was the pioneer to make a breach in that fortress hitherto impregnable. How many times have we not read declarations of this nature! Unfortunately I am not convinced by his exposition. His explications, rather obscure, on the nightly march of the sun, and on the unity which can be resolved into seven fractions, do not appear to me to be sufficiently strong grounds to warrant a revolution in the accepted interpretation of the Vedas. How many times have

we not witnessed, since the beginning of the Vedic study, such and such principles proclaimed as the master-key to the problem. Thus libation has been emphasised by Regnaud, the fire by Bergaigne, the solar light by Hertel, wealth by Rajwade and so on.

In this matter we have now the feeling of being before a field of ruins. In my opinion, even among the most traditionalist group of Indological scholars, one does not, however, wish to revert to Sāyaṇa who interpreted the Vedas according to the inspiration of the moment or the light of divergent sources, that is to say, without coherence or necessary relationship. Be it remembered that the interpretation of the Gāthās of the Avesta is made always by a departure from the commentaries of the Pehlevi epoch.

A well-known Indian mystic, Sri Aurobindo, considers that the secret of the Vedas is of a psychological character. "The battle, he says, which is represented between the powers of light and truth and the powers of darkness, that is our own life. The elements of the outer sacrifice in the Veda are used as symbols of the inner sacrifice and self-offering. In images of a physical nature, poets sing the hymns of our spiritual progress. So understood the Ṛgveda ceases to be obscure, confused and barbarous hymnal; it becomes the high aspiring song of humanity, its chants are episodes of the lyrical epic of the soul in its immortal ascension."

I do not think, however, that this poetic vision delivers the secret to our hands. I do not believe that the old poets anxious to serve the exigencies of complicated ceremonials would have thought of translating into symbols those mystic aspirations which properly pertain to an age more approaching our own. We should guard ourselves against the tendency of refurbishing the Vedic thought as too young after having, sometimes, rendered it too old.

Comparative mythology of the 19th century would not have been possible without the resources furnished by the Vedas. One has been tempted with Max Müller, Adalbert Kuhn and others to assimilate every divine figure of the Veda with analogous figures found among the Greeks, the Lithuanians or the Germans. The exaggeration has been enormous in this respect the more so when the concordance of the names remained very often approximate. Now comparative mythology has fallen into oblivion, if not into discredit.

However, since twenty years, it is reviving in some vigour with the highly original work of M. Dumezil to whom I would like to make a passing reference in so far as his works concern India and the Vedas.

Dumezil credits himself with having recognised in the ancient literature of the Indo-Europeans the traces of a redivision of society into three groups. One group exercised spiritual functions, the other group was composed of soldiers wielding temporal authority and the third group was devoted to the occupation of cultivation, cattle-rearing and that of the artisan. These are the classes which, in India, have furnished the cadre for the famous division into Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas and the Vaiśyas. Dumezil considers that the Vedic divinities or at least certain among them are the resultant of a mythical transposition of these classes. Thus Mitra and Varuṇa represent the sovereignty under this double forms Mitra, the god of contracts under the juridical form, and Varuṇa, the possessor of Māyā under the magic form. Military force is represented by Indra Vṛtrahan and the myths associated with him, the battle against the demons. The economic function, if one may call it so, is assumed, above all, by the Nāsatya or the Aśvins who symbolise fecundity and accompany the goddess Sārasvatī. Just as religious sovereignty is doubled, it happens that military sovereignty is duplicated and by the side of Indra appears Vāyu who is invested specially with the function of the 'primary god,' 'purvāpā.' The Aśvins who are already double in essence may be connected with Pūṣan, the god of the *herd*. Several hymns of the Ṛgveda which invoke a series of gods to sacrifice, group and define them according to this hierarchy. The gods of Mittani, ascribed to the 14th century before Christ and of whom the interpretation has been the subject of a long controversy among scholars, reflect similar tripartite division. By the side of Avestic theology, the Amesa Spenta which were once sought to be associated with Āditya, also reflects a similar classification of the divinities, where, for example, Vohu Manah corresponds to Mitra, Asha Vahishta to Varuṇa, etc. In fine, many of the formulae of Veda, which, for instance, enumerate three sorts of welfare or draw our attention to three forms of danger, conserve the memory of this threefold division of cosmic and social functions.

This ambitious reconstruction by Dumezil would not bear its full significance unless one has correlated the Indian

data with the Iranian, the Latin and the Celtic. It does not proceed from an isolated observation of Vedic religion, only, it is the product of comparative study. What appears bold, even improbable on consideration merely of an isolated text finds confirmation by comparison of similar facts elsewhere attested. It is thus that for assimilating the Greek god Ouranos with the Indian god Varuṇa, Dumezil had taken cognisance, on the Indian side, of an episode known by the Brāhmaṇas. In the course of Rājasūya or royal consecration which is again the Varuṇāsava or sacrifice of Varuṇa we find, that at a certain moment, the god lost his virility. This "indriyaṃ vīryaṃ" was concealed in a troop of cows belonging to a near relation of the King. The King falls upon the herd and regains his virility. Dumezil relates it with the Greek episode of Ouranos where Ouranos persecutes his near relations and is emasculated by one of them, and where his virility falling on the earth, renders it fertile. No Indianist would have thought of reconstituting the primitive function of Varuṇa on a similar episode.

For a proper judgment on the work of Dumezil it is necessary to be a specialist in the various domains which he has held under purview. Certain Latinists have expressed vigorous opposition, on finding the question of the origin of Rome treated on an entirely mythical manner. The Iranists appear to have been more favourably disposed. The Indianists have, till now, maintained silence. Future research should not lag behind in an assessment of the hypothesis of Dumezil.

It is clear that in all aspects of Vedic study, problems abound. The results hitherto obtained have far less satisfied us than they have provoked new enquiries. The Vedas have not ceased to be an arena for combat among the linguists, mythologues, ethnographists and prehistorians.

But the Vedas should not remain that alone. For numerous Indians attached to their tradition the Vedas are a religious document of exceptional sanctity, for they pass for apauruṣeya or "of no human origin." The Indians are well aware that the whole course of Indian thought would have been other than what it has been, had there not existed at the origin of Brāhmanism this vigorous outburst of hymns, and this liturgical edifice which dominates the whole later development.

For the westerners, the Vedas are also a literary document having its proper value as a work of art. One has given currency to the idea, sometimes in Europe and singularly in France, that the Vedas are illisible. Bergaigne had dismissed them as a string of unmeaning words (jargon) without attaching thereto any sense of reproach. There are undoubtedly many passages in the Vedas which defy all efforts for comprehension and which are repugnant to our instinctive desire for a modicum of clarity. But along with these exist also many magnificent passages which one can well enjoy without the necessity of taking part in the philological polemics. Our age is perhaps more favourable than the 19th century for appreciating certain striking imagery which might have once appeared too bold. Here is the call to mankind at the advent of dawn: "Arise, the breath, the life again hath reached us: darkness hath passed away and light approacheth. She for the sun hath left a path to travel: we are arrived where men prolong existence." (I-113, 16). "Here is the sun appearing. The constellations pass away like thieves together with their beams before the all-beholding sun." (I-50, 2.) Here, again, is the wind: "Along his traces the cohorts of the wind hurry, they come to him as dames to an assembly (X-168, 2)." I regret that the English translation, to my mind, is very insufficient for rendering the magnificence of Vedic images or still more such naive questions as "whither by day depart the constellations that shine at night, set high in heaven above us?".

The Hymn to Earth of the Atharvaveda can be considered as the summit of human literature. I shall content myself only with presenting a few stanzas of this long poem in the translation of Bloomfield. "The fragrance, O! Earth has arisen upon thee, which the plants and the waters hold, which the Gandharvas and the Apsaras have partaken of, with that make me fragrant. That fragrance of thine which has entered into the lotus, that which, O! Earth the immortals of yore gathered up at the marriage of Sūryā, with that make me fragrant. That fragrance of thine O Earth! which is in men, the loveliness and charm that is male and female, in steeds and horses, in the wild animals too, the lustre that is in the maiden, with that do thou blend us!"

Even the magic prayers of the Atharvaveda, which, by the way, are utilitarian works without artistic pretensions are

sometimes exquisitely beautiful; to witness, this brief poem (I, 17) praying for the cessation of haemorrhage, where the veins are compared to young girls "The maidens that go yonder, the veins clothed in red garments, like sisters without brothers, bereft of strength, they shall stand still! stand still, thou lower one, stand still, thou higher one, do thou in the middle also stand still. The most tiny amongst you, stand still; may then the great artery also stand still: of the hundred arteries and the thousand veins, those in the middle here have indeed stood still. At the same time the ends have ceased to flow. Around you has passed a great sandy dike: stand ye still, pray take ease!"

I have quoted earlier a passage of the famous hymn (X-129) the most superb of the philosophical hymns of the Veda, known under the name of nāsadāsīya hymn. But how curious and impressive are the other speculative poems like the hymn of Hiraṇyagarbha or the hymn to Manas in the Yajurveda with the refrain, 'tan me manaḥ śivasaṃkalpam astu' or the hymn to Vāk in the Ṛgveda where occurs the famous verset "uta tvaḥ paśyan na dadarśa vācam, uta tvaḥ śṛṇvan na śṛṇoty enām uto tvasmai tanvaṃ vi sasre jāyeva patya uśatī suvāsāḥ, *i.e.* one man hath never seen Vāk though he seeth, one man hath hearing but hath never heard her. But to another hath she shown her beauty as a well dressed woman, willingly to her husband". Under this ancient poem is contained in highly poetic form all that man has imagined or realised under the concept of the word and the Logos.

If today in our literary world there is a trend towards pushing behind the boundaries of thought and art that characterised the classic spirit, if we look for forms of art more naive and primitive in which words would still possess their magic potency and mythic virtuality, where else can we find better means of gratifying this passion than in the Vedas?

Inexhaustible as my topic is, I would better stop here. It has been my humble wish to show how for the savants and for every variety of them, for the artists no less than for the historians of literature and of religion, the Vedas, in spite of all unmerited contempt, rest and shall remain, one of the magnificent monuments of mankind.

THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE VAIYĀKARAṆAS*

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To explain the forms of a language is the main purpose of the science of grammar. For this, it is necessary to isolate and analyse the notions which are expressed by the forms of that language. As these notions are, to a great extent, the products of the social factors which govern that language, they may or may not be the same as those of other languages. Grammar is not the only discipline which is concerned with notions. Logic and philosophy are equally concerned with them. Hence the influence of logic and philosophy on grammar in the West until the 19th century when the method of observation of facts, already in operation in the physical sciences, was extended to linguistic phenomena. In India, as elsewhere, logic and philosophy share with grammar a partly common vocabulary. Countless are the passages in Sanskrit grammatical literature where the concepts of this or that system of philosophy are brought in for explaining the facts of the Sanskrit language. And yet our grammarians knew that the point of view of grammar was quite distinct from that of the systems of philosophy.

This distinction is pointed out by Helārāja on many occasions in his commentary on the Vākyapadīya. But, before we present his views on the subject, it is necessary to study the few passages in the Mahābhāṣya on which the views of Helāraja are based. Vyākaraṇa is a Vedāṅga, but it it not attached to any particular Veda. It is common to all of them. Patañjali makes this point clear in connection with the use of the word बहुलम् in P. II. 1.58 and P. VI. 3.14. Though the word बहुलम् found in the sūtras is traditionaily interpreted in four ways[1] so as to include all the facts and details which can come

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1. क्वचित् प्रवृत्तिः क्वचिदप्रवृत्तिः क्वचिद् विभाषा क्वचिदन्यदेव ।
विधेर्विधानं बहुधा समीक्ष्य चतुर्विधं बाहुलकं वदन्ति ॥

Nyāsa on Pāṇini III.3.1.

under the sūtras in question, Pāṇini actually mentions some of these details in the subsequent sūtras. In addition to the word बहुलम् he sometimes uses other words like वा, उभयथा, अन्यतरस्याम्, ऐकषाम्। Patañjali explains this diversity of usage by saying that the science of Vyākaraṇa is common to all the Vedas and this diversity of usage is necessary to cover all the facts found in the various branches of the Vedas.[2] All that we have to note here is that, according to Patañjali, the science of grammar is not attached to any particular Veda or to any branch of it, but is common to all. It is सर्ववेदपारिषद। We will see, in a little while, what form this idea assumes in the later grammatical literature.

Another statement of Patañjali which throws light on the grammarian's point of view is found in the Bhāṣya on vt. 13, of the Paspaśāhnika. To the objection that if the knowledge of the correct word leads to spiritual merit, a knowledge of corrupt forms, inevitable in a close student of grammar, must necessarily lead to demerit, Patañjali answers:—

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्। यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्। शब्दश्च शब्दज्ञाने धर्ममाह नापशब्दज्ञानेऽधर्मम्[3]।

Here Patañjali means the Vedas by the word śabda and refers to the well known śruti.

एकः शब्दः सम्यग् ज्ञातः शास्त्रान्वितः सुप्रयुक्तः स्वर्गे लोके कामधुग् भवति[4]।

The śruti speaks only of merit resulting from a knowledge of the correct words, and not of demerit due to a knowledge of incorrect ones. But in another similar context containing the same words, śabda does not mean the Vedas. It means merely the word in general. The point is raised whether in the sentence अयं दण्डो हरानेन, the daṇḍa is the agent (कर्ता) of the action of 'being', the meaning of the word 'asti'

2. (a) अवश्य खल्वप्यस्माभिरिदं वक्तव्यम्—बहुलम्, अन्यतरस्याम्, उभयथा, वा, एकेषामिति। सर्ववेदपारिषदं हीदं शास्त्रम्। तत्र नैकः पन्थाः शक्य आस्थातुम्।

M. Bhāṣya on II. 1.58 (57).

3. M. Bhā. on Vt 13, पस्पशाह्निक।
4. M. Bhā. on P. VI. 1.84.

which is understood here or the instrument of the action of taking (हृ). Against the view that it is the former, the objection is raised that it is, after all, with the daṇḍa that the action of taking is done and that, therefore, it should be considered to be the instrument of that action rather than as the agent of an action which is not mentioned in the sentence. To this objection the answer is given that, for grammarians, it is the word which is pramāṇa, authority. Whatever the word presents, they accept.[5] In the sentence in question, the words as they stand, present the daṇḍa as the agent of the action of "being", which, though not mentioned, is understood here, as in all other cases where no other action is openly expressed. Thus the daṇḍa is, at first, the agent of the action of 'being' and then only does it become the instrument of the action of taking. This is at least the case if we go by what the words present, apart from what the reality may be.

Thus we see two ideas in Patañjali: (1) that Vyākaraṇa is not confined to any particular Veda: (2) that the grammarians go by what the words present rather than by how things really are. By śabda, Patañjali means sometimes the Vedas and sometimes the word in general.

These two ideas are made use of frequently by Helārāja while explaining Bhartṛhari's Vākyapadīyam and we need not doubt that they were quite familiar to Bhartṛhari himself. But both these ideas have undergone modifications:—

The idea that the science of grammar is common to all the Vedas is changed into the idea that it is common to all the systems of philosophy. It is found that Bhartṛhari in his Vākyapadīya often expounds a grammatical doctrine, not only from his own point of view, but also from the point of view of some system of philosophy or other. Often an idea belonging to some system of philosophy is made use of to explain and justify a particular idea of grammar. The question arises: Why should he do it? Why did he not content himself with explaining it as an Advaitin which he was? Helārāja justifies this by saying that Vyākaraṇa as a śāstra belongs to

5. शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्। यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्। शब्दश्चेह सत्तामाह - अयं दण्डः। अस्तीति गम्यते। स दण्डः कर्ता भूत्वान्येन शब्देनाभिसंबध्यमानः करणं संपद्यते।

M. Bhā. on P. II. I.I.

all the disciplines. If linguistic facts can be explained from as many points of view as possible, so much the better for the science of grammar. This does not preclude a particular author from having a preference for his own point of view. Bhartṛhari, for instance, has a preference for the Advaitic point of view, and he has tried to explain most of the facts and notions of grammar from that point of view.[6] But his work is remarkable for the bringing in of other points of view on many occasions. A few examples will make this point clear:—

It is the view of the Vaiyākaraṇas that, when words are used, three things are understood by us:—(1) the form of the word, consisting of an entity over and above the sequence of sounds heard (2) the meaning (3) the intention of the speaker[7]. Of these, the first one is closest to the word. It is understood by the hearer in any case, even if he does not understand the second and the third. Between this and the second the meaning the relation is वाच्यवाचकभाव। The first is वाचक and the second is वाच्य. This is usually understood as referring to the objects of the world. Between the first and the third, the intention of the speaker, the relation is said to be कार्यकारणभाव। It is the intention of the speaker which calls up particular words for use. They are, therefore, looked upon as the effects of that intention.[8] The question now arises: Why should Bhartṛhari speak about कार्यकारणभाव at all, considering that grammar, as a science, is chiefly concerned with the other relation namely, वाच्यवाचकभाव, between the word and the meaning? The answer given is that Vyākaraṇa as a discipline is common to all the systems of philosophy. Its notions and explanations must be such that they can be acceptable to the followers of all the systems of philosophy[9]. Some hold that the word does not point to any external object, but only refers to the intention of the speaker.

6. परमार्थदृष्ट्यात्र सर्वपार्षदत्वात् पुनरस्य शास्त्रस्य दर्शनान्तरोपन्यासः। एष च सर्वत्रैवास्य ग्रन्थकारस्याभिप्रायः। पदार्थचर्चाविषये ब्रह्मदर्शननयेनैव संबन्धादिविचारे विनिगमनात्।

Helārāja on Vāk III. Jā. verse 35.

7. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 1.

8. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 1.

9. सर्वपार्षदं पुनरिदं शास्त्रमिति ये बाह्यस्यार्थस्य शब्दवाच्यत्वं नेच्छन्ति तन्मतोपस्कारार्थं वक्त्राभिप्रायारूढस्यैव शब्दार्थत्वे तत्र कार्यकारणसंबन्धमाह।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 1.

It is in order to respect their views (तन्मतोपस्कारार्थम्) that Bhartṛhari speaks about कार्यकारणभाव। If meaning is nothing more than the intention of the speaker, the relation between the word and the meaning is naturally कार्यकारणभाव, because it is the intention of the speaker which calls up this word or that in speech.[10]

Another doctrine which is expounded in the Vākyapadīya is सत्ताद्वैत, the view that all words, nay, even parts of a word like roots and suffixes, ultimately have सत्ता or "Being"as their meaning. This 'Being' is the Supreme Universal which is found in all the objects of the world and which binds them all together in one reality. The distinctive features of each object are comparatively unreal. In this view, even negative entities are credited with a kind of 'Being'.[11] This 'Being' is essentially identical with Brahman. It is clear that Bhartṛhari here speaks as an Advaitin. But he further points out that the Sāṅkhya Philosophy is also in keeping with the doctrine of सत्ताद्वैत. According to this system, the first evolute from Prakṛti is Mahat or Buddhitattva, as it is called. Is is to be regarded as "the most universal stage which comprehends within it all the buddhis of individuals and potentially all the matter of which the gross world is formed. Looked at from this point of view, it has the widest and the most universal existence, comprising all creation and is thus called 'mahat', (the great one)".[12] All the other evolutes proceed from this principle and are absorbed into it at the time of dissolution. This great principle is essentially 'Being' and all the evolutes proceeding from it share this 'Being'. Thus the Sāṅkhya system also, Helāraja points out, favours the doctrine of सत्ताद्वैत।[13]

10. प्रयोक्त्रभिप्रायेण सह तु कार्यकारणभावः।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 1.

11. अभावस्यापि बुद्ध्याकारेण निरूपणात् महासत्तयानयाऽवियोगात् प्रातिपदिकमात्रवाच्या सत्ता।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 34.

12. Das Gupta. A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 249.

13. एते सत्तामात्रस्यात्मनो महतो यद्विशेषाः परिणामाः यतः परं विशेषेभ्यो लिङ्गमात्रं महत्तत्त्वं तस्मिन्नेते सत्तामात्रे महत्यात्मन्यवस्थाय विवृद्धिकार्यमनुभवन्ति।

Side by side with the view that the science of grammar is सर्वपार्षद and, therefore, brings in notions and ideas current in other śāstras to explain grammatical notions, there is the other view that grammar is not bound to accept an idea simply because it is current in some other discipline or in the world. Whether such an idea should be made use of by Vyākaraṇa is a matter of convenience only. It was utilised if it was convenient to do so. Otherwise it was not. Thus the Vaiśeṣika conception of Guṇa[14] has been utilised by Vyākaraṇa in explaining some forms:—The word guṇavacana occurring in P. IV. 1.44; V. 1. 124; in a vār. on V. 2, 94. and in VIII. 1.12. refers to this Vaiśeṣika conception.[15] But this conception is not enough to explain all the forms which occur in the Sanskrit language. Another conception of it is mentioned here and there in the Bhāṣya and it is explained in the guṇasamuddeśa of the 3rd kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya. It is a conception peculiar to Vyākaraṇa and it is derived from the forms of the Sanskrit language, and it is meant to explain them.[16] Similarly, the popular conception of 'liṅga'

स्तनकेशवती स्त्री स्याल्लोमशः पुरुषः स्मृतः ।
उभयोरन्तरं यच्च तदभावे नपुंसकम् ॥[17]

is found inadequate to explain all the diversity of forms relating to liṅga found in the Sanskrit language. Patañjali therefore rejects it and says

(तस्मान्न वैयाकरणैः शक्यं लौकिकं लिङ्गमास्थातुम् । अवश्यं च कश्चित् स्वकृतान्त आस्थेयः ।)

प्रतिसंसृज्यमानाश्च तस्मिंश्च सत्तामात्रे महत्यात्मन्यवस्थाय यत्तन्निःसत्तासत्तं निःसदसदव्यक्तमलिङ्गं तस्मिन् प्रतियन्तीत्येवं साङ्ख्ये बुद्धितत्त्वं महच्छब्दवाच्यमाद्यं जगत्कारणं निर्दिष्टमित्यतोऽनन्तस्य विकारग्रामस्य कारणरूपानुगमात् सत्तारूपत्वमविरुद्धमिति सत्तारूपं सर्वं जगदाख्यातं भवतीति सत्ताद्वैतवादः साङ्ख्यनयेनाप्युपबृंहितः ।

Helā. on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 34.

14. Kaṇāda-Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra I. 1.16.
15. Kaṇāda-Vaiśeṣika-Sūtra I. 1.16.
16. *See* the author's paper on "The Conception of Guṇa among the Vaiyākaraṇas" (N. I. A., Vol. V,. No. 6, Sept. 1942).
17. M. Bhā. on P. IV. 1.3.
18. M. Bhā. on P. IV. 1.3.

that Vaiyakaraṇas must evolve their own conception of 'liṅga' and proceeds to do so. This idea that Vaiyākaraṇas have a right to evolve their own notions is expressed by later writers also. P. I. 2.58 teaches the use of the plural number after a word which primarily expresses जाति। But for this sutra, only the singular number could be used, because जाति is one and so it would be normal to use the singular number. Now one can say, ब्राह्मण: पूज्य: or ब्राह्मणा: पूज्या: in the same sense. To this somebody objects that it is wrong to say that 'jāti' is one. Jāti has no number at all. It is the dravya or 'vyakti' in which the jāti resides which has number.[19] This is answered by saying that in these matters grammarians do not accept the views of other śāstras. They evolve their own notions.[20] To them jāti is one because the word presents it as such, and it is, therefore, natural to use the singular number after a word expressive of it.

This reference in the Bhāṣya and in the later literature to स्वकृतान्त, the particular doctrine of the Vaiyākaraṇas suggests that they have their own point of view from which their doctrines and notions are derived. What this point of view is has been indicated by Patañjali in that passage where he says:—

शब्दप्रमाणका वयम्। यच्छब्द आह तदस्माकं प्रमाणम्।

The idea contained in this passage has been utilised by Helārāja very frequently in his commentary on the Vākyapadīyam. For the grammarian, 'artha' does not mean the external reality but whatever the word brings to the mind. Artha does not mean vastvartha but śabdārtha, not reality, but the meaning of words. Individual words bring something to the mind and the sentence as a whole also brings something to the mind. Both these things are included in the expression 'śabdārtha'. Grammar studies both these things in order to evolve notions which will explain the forms of the language. Grammar is satisfied if these notions conform to what we understand from words, no matter whether they conform to reality or not.

19. ननु जातेर्नैव सङ्ख्यास्ति द्रव्यधर्मत्वात्तस्याः।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 52.

20. नेह शास्त्रान्तरप्रसिद्धा प्रक्रिया प्रमाणम्। अपि तु स्वकृतान्तः कश्चिदास्थेयः। अस्ति च प्रमाणमेकत्वे। जातेः प्रमाणैनैकत्वविशिष्टाया एव सिद्धेः।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 52.

Grammar does not look at reality directly in the face. As Helārāja puts it:

शब्दप्रमाणकानां हि शब्द एव हि यथार्थमभिधत्ते तथैव तस्याभिधानमुपपन्नम् । न तु वस्तुमुखप्रेक्षतया[21] ।

Not to look at reality directly in the face is as good as not philosophising and Helārāja sometimes makes it quite clear that the grammarian is really not concerned with philosophy proper. Thus while explaining the different conceptions of Time mentioned by Bhartṛhari in the Kālasamuddeśa such as that it is an entity which exists apart from the mind or that it is a mere construction of the human mind, Helārāja says that Bhartṛhari is not really concerned with what time is philosophically, but that he is anxious to examine and analyse that something which is responsible for our putting the Sanskrit verb in different tenses as in abhūt, asti and bhaviṣyati. That something may not be able to stand close philosophical scrutiny, but if it serves the purpose of explaining the different tenses one would have to accept it.[22] Similarly in the kriyāsamuddeśa, the question is: What is action? The answer given by Bhartṛhari on the basis of the Bhāṣya passages is that it is a process, something having parts arranged in a temporal sequence. It is not directly perceptible, but it is to be inferred. Each moment or part may be looked upon as action, in which case, it will also be inferrible only and not directly perceptible. These parts may be further subdivided and the smaller parts will also be actions. There will come a time when the part cannot be further sub-divided. It cannot then be called action at all. Such an atomic point may be directly perceptible but that will not make action so because such a point cannot be called action at all. Only that can be called action which has parts arranged in a temporal sequence. After having clearly explained all this, Helārāja adds that for grammarians the real question is not whether an action has actually parts or not, but whether the verb presents it as such. The answer is that verbs do present action, however momentary, in nature, as something

21. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Sam. verse 66.

22. नास्माभिर्दर्शनविवेकः प्रारब्धः । किन्तु शाब्दे व्यवहारे यदङ्गं तत् परीक्ष्यम् । अस्ति च भिन्नकालः शाब्दो व्यवहारोऽभूदस्ति भविष्यतीति । तत्र यथायोगमविचारितमणीयः कालोऽभ्युपगन्तव्यः ।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Kā. 58.

having parts which cannot co-exist, but are arranged in a temporal sequence. And Vaiyākaraṇas go by what the words present to us.[23]

It is pointed out that a notion arrived at by the Vaiyākaraṇas from their own point of view, may sometimes agree with popular ideas rather than with those accepted by some system of philosophy. Vaiśeṣikas think of the whole, the avayavī, as existing in the parts, the avayavas. That is an idea to which they have come by a logical analysis of reality. They also specify the particular relation by which the whole exists in the parts. It is samavāya, inherence. The popular conception, however, is that the horn of a cow exists in the cow and not vice versa. The part exists in the whole. Helāraja points out that the language follows the popular conception in this matter. In the expression गवि शृङ्गम् the locative suffix is affixed to the word गो which denotes the whole of which śṛṅga is a part. If one followed the Vaiśeṣikas in this matter, one would have to say शृङ्गे गौः and शाखायां वृक्षः।[24]

It is mainly this point of view which the Vaiyākaraṇas adopt in defining the various grammatical categories such as the different kārakas, gender, number, person, aspect (उपग्रह) etc. dealt with in the 3rd kāṇḍa of the Vākyapadīya. This naturally results in certain distinctive notions. It will not be out of place here to draw the attention of the reader to a few of these distinctive notions.

Regarding the meaning of individual words, there are two views current among grammarians, associated with the names of two ancient grammarians mentioned in the Vārttikas of Kātyāyana, namely, Vājapyāyana and Vyāḍi. One view is that all words, nay, even parts of words, denote primarily the Universal and only secondarily the Particular. If we apply the same word, say, 'cow' or 'tree' to a large number of objects it is because we see some common characteristic in all of them.

23. नेह वास्तवो भागभेदश्चिन्त्यते, अपि तु शब्दात् प्रतीयमानः। शब्दाच्च क्षणमात्रस्वभावापि विप्रकीर्णावयवा समूहात्मनैव सर्वा क्रिया प्रतीयत इति सिद्धं शब्दवाच्यतया क्रियाया संक्रमत्वमतीन्द्रियत्वं च।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Kri. 10.

24. शास्त्रान्तरे त्ववयवेष्ववयवीति शृङ्गे गौः शाखायां वृक्ष इति स्यात्।

Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. 11.

This common characteristic is the universal or 'jāti' as it is called. The word 'aśva', therefore, primarily denotes 'aśvatva', the word 'go' denotes gotva and so on. If this is true, then the word 'jāti' must also denote a universal present as a common characteristic in all the universals. But such a view goes against the Vaiśeṣika view that there cannot be a universal in a universal. They argue that to accept a universal in a universal would lead to anavasthā or 'regressus ad infinitum'. Where would one stop in the process of postulating universals? Why not postulate a third universal in the second one and so on? The best thing would be to stop at the very first universal and not go any further. But the grammarian replies that this kind of reasoning might be all right from the Vaiśeṣika point of view, but not for himself. He has his own point of view. His chief concern is to find out the nature of meanings conveyed by words. What he finds is that in all universals as conveyed by words, there is a common characteristic which can be looked upon as another universal. The existence of the first universal was postulated just because a common characteristic was experienced in the individuals or particulars, followed by the use of the same name to all the individuals. A similar common characteristic is experienced in all the universals as conveyed by words and that justifies the use of the word 'jāti' to all of them. Where there is identity of cognition and of name, a universal has to be postulated and in the universals as presented by words there are both. And for grammarians, it is what words convey which matters.[25]

If we go by what words present, there can be not only a universal in a universal but many other things which are ordinarily looked upon as guṇa or kriyā may turn out to be universals. If a guṇa is presented by words as something which persists as a common feature in many things, it becomes a universal for the grammarians.[26] That is probably the reason

25. वैशेषिकादीनां भवन्तु नि.सामान्यानि सामान्यानि । तानि हि व्यक्तिष्वन्वयप्रत्ययावसेयानि परोपाधिरूपाणि स्वतन्त्रव्यक्तिवदिदन्तावभासित्वाभावात् सामान्यान्तरेण नोपाधीयन्ते । वैयाकरणानां शब्दार्थोऽर्थ इत्यभ्युपेयतामन्वयिरूपावच्छेदेन शाब्दस्य प्रत्ययस्योत्पत्तेर्जातिष्वपि जातिरविरुद्धाऽभ्युपगम्या ।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. जा. 11.

26. तथा चान्वयिरूपेण गुणोऽप्यभिधीयमानो जातिरेव यथोपमानसमासे श्यामादिः । तथा चोपमानानि सामान्यवचनैरित्युच्यते ।
Ibid.

why Pāṇini has applied the word sāmānya to the meaning expressed by the word 'śyāmā' in the compound śastrīśyāmā formed according to the sūtra उपमानानि सामान्यवचनैः ।[27] Samānya is another name for 'jāti'. In the compound śastrīśyāmā the word śyāmā expresses a guṇa and, as it expresses a common feature between a śastrī and whatever is compared to it, the grammarians look upon it as jāti.

Similarly, action can be presented as jāti by words. We use the expression 'pacati', 'he cooks', in a variety of circumstances. The person who cooks, the thing cooked, the fuel and the utensils used for cooking, may all be different and yet the notion of cooking and the expression 'pacati' persist. This also shows that the word presents action as 'jāti'.[28]

Even though philosophers like Vaiśeṣikas make a distinction between jāti, guṇa, kriyā, and dravya, the grammarians believe that it is all a question of how words present them and the words can present the first three also as dravya. They have their own definition of dravya. Anything which is presented by words as something to be characterised, distinguished from other things (भेद्य) is a dravya. Whatever can be referred to by the demonstrative pronouns इदम् and तद् is a dravya.

वस्तूपलक्षणं यत्र सर्वनाम प्रयुज्यते ।
द्रव्यमित्युच्यते सोऽर्थो भेद्यत्वेन विवक्षितः ॥

Vāk. III. द्र- verse 3.

If words present 'jati' as something to be differentiated, as a viśeṣya, then it becomes a dravya. सर्वनामप्रत्यवमर्शयोग्यत्वं, the fitness to be referred to by a pronoun as 'this' is the characteristic of a dravya. This view is traced by Helāraja to so ancient a writer as Yāska, whose statement: अत इति यत् प्रतीयते तद्द्रव्यम् । is quoted by him.[29] The expression is significant

27. Q. II. 1. 55.

28. (a) एवं क्रियाप्यभेदेनाभिधीयमाना जातिः ।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Jā. verse 11.

(b) जातिमन्ये क्रियामाहुरनेकव्यक्तिवर्तिनीम् ।
असाध्या व्यक्तिरूपेण सा साध्यवोपलभ्यते ॥
Vāk. III. Kri. 20.

29. Helārāja on Vāk. III. Dra. verse 3.

because it makes the whole thing dependent upon the 'vivakṣā' of the speaker. It makes it quite clear that what is defined in the verse quoted above is not the artha called dravya, but the meaning of the word 'dravya' or rather the nature of the thing presented by the word 'dravya'.[30] Anything can be presented by words as something to be differentiated. For instance, movement or action is so presented in "sukham sthīyate' where the action of standing is presented as a thing and it is determined or modified by the word 'sukham'. The meaning of the verb " sthīyate" is, therefore, dravya. In the sentence, " śuklataram rūpam" a quality is so presented. Here 'rūpa', though a quality, is presented by words as a thing to be qualified or determined by white. It is, therefore, a dravya. The action in ' sthīyate' can be referred to by the pronoun " kim" another indication that it is a dravya. It is easy to see that this conception of dravya is very different from the Vaiśeṣika conception of it.

The essence, then, of the Vaiyākaraṇa point of view is that it does not look at reality in the face directly, but only at reality as presented by words. But while they knew this distinctiveness of their point of view, their literature is full of passages which make one wonder whether they did not often forget this and indulge in a direct analysis of reality. Whether they are discussing the nature of 'jāti' or 'guṇa' or 'kriyā', their language often makes one think that they are discussing, not reality as presented hy words, but reality itself. It is true that a writer like Helārāja frequently reminds himself and his readers that, for grammarians, artha is 'śabdārtha' and not 'vastvartha'. But this frequent reminder to himself is perhaps the best proof that it is not easy to discuss the nature of śabdārtha' without uuconsciously straying into a consideration of the nature of 'vastvartha'. Perhaps the fact that the word 'artha' in Sanskrit can and does mean both 'vastvartha' and ' śabdārtha' also made it difficult to separate the two. Some of the problems discussed in Vaiyākaraṇa literature and the answers given also show that the grammarians did not always succeed in keeping the two kinds of 'artha' absolutely distinct. One set of such questions which they have discussed relates to action. What is action? Is it perceptible or can it only be in-

30. विवक्षितग्रहणेन नार्थस्येदं लक्षणमपि तु शब्दार्थस्येत्याह ।
Helārāja on Vāk. III. Dra. verse 3

ferred? Is there such a thing as action apart from that which is active? And they are answered as follows. Action is something which has parts arranged in a temporal sequence. It cannot be directly seen but has to be inferred. It is quite distinct from 'dravya'. These questions are more appropriate to philosophy than to grammar. The same thing can be said of the grammarians' treatment of gender. In languages like English, we have two words, sex and gender, to denote the distinction found in the objects of the world and that found in words respectively. In Sanskrit, 'liṅga' has to denote both and this fact may have ultimately led to the grammarians coming to the conclusion that what is called 'liṅga' is a property of things and not of words. And they have invoked the Sāṅkhya philosophy in determining this property of things. The idea that it is a property of words was also known to them. They discuss it only to reject it.

Thus Vyākaraṇa oscillates between philosophy and linguistics, while it is conscious all the time that its proper sphere is something distinct from that of philosophy.

WORKS AND PERIOD OF LITERARY ACTIVITY OF GOVINDĀNANDA KAVIKAṄKAṆĀCĀRYA

BY

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Govindānanda Kavikaṅkaṇācārya, a Vaidika Brahmin from the west, settled in a village called Bagri in the Midnapur district[1] in Bengal and wrote the following works.

(1) *Mahimnaḥ Stava-kaumudī*.[2]

1. See *Varṣa-kaumudī* (Bibliotheca Indica edition), Preface, p. ii, and P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415.

According to Haraprasad Shastri Govindānanda settled in the district of Bankura. See Shastri, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (hereinafter referred to as Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*), III, Preface, p. xxi.

'Some of the Pāścātya Vaidikas of the Gautama family assert themselves to be descended from Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa (father of Govindānanda). Pandit Hāraṇa Candra Tarkavāgīśa of Bagri traces his descent from Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa as follows : 1. Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa, 2. Govindānanda, 3. Vasudeva. 4. Kavi Karṇapūra, ... 12. Hāraṇa Candra'.—*Varṣa-kaumudī*, Preface, pp. ii-iii.

2. H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, Second Series, I, p. 284, No. 279.

It begins as follows: Oṃ namo gaṇeśāya | śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva-nakhendu-ruci-saṃtatiḥ | asta-cintātisaṃbhrānta-citta-dhvāntaṃ dhunotu me || kriyate śrīmatā tāta-pāda-reṇūpadeśataḥ | govinda-sudhiyā śasto mahimnaḥ stava-kaumudī ||

See also H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.*, X, p. 123, No. 3384, and Hrishikesh Shastri and Shiva Chandra Gui, *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Library of the Calcutta Sanskrit College* (hereinafter referred to as Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*), II, pp. 366-8, 369, 485, 499, 508 and 510 (Nos. 396, 397. 399, 554, 595, 618 and 624) —No. 397 begins with the verses 'śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva°' and 'kriyate śrīmatā tāta°' and ends thus: govindānanda-kṛtinā kṛte kṛtadhiyā yutām | nivedayantu vidvāṃso mahimnaḥ stava-kaumudī || sarvāntaryāmine tasmai govindāya namo namaḥ | agrānurāgaṃ dhāsyante yat-prasārad (?°sādād) vipaścitaḥ ||

This is a commentary on a hymn composed by Puṣpadanta in honour of Śiva. That this commentary is one of the early works of Govindānanda is evidenced by its second introductory verse which says that Govindānanda wrote it according to his father's instructions.

(2) *Artha-kaumudī*[3].

This is a commentary on Śrīnivāsa's *Śuddhi-dīpikā*.

(3) *Dāna-kamuudī*[4].

It is to be noted that the first introductory verse 'śrīgovinda-pada-dvandva°' agrees almost literally with the second introductory verse of Govindānanda's *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā* (for which see below), and the concluding verse 'sarvāntaryāmine tasmai' occurs, with modifications, at the end of many of the works of Govindānanda.

3. Manomohan Chakravarti informs us that this commentary was printed in Bengali characters (see *JASB*, XI, 1915, p, 355).

For Mss. of this commentary see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, V, p. 1069, No. 3010; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, IX, pp. 130-1, Nos. 131-2; S. Kuppuswami Sastri, *A Triennial Catalogue of Mss. Collected during the triennium* 1919-20 *to* 1921-22 *for the Government Oriental Mss. Library, Madras*, Vol. IV, Part I, pp. 4356-57, No. 2995.

4. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published (under the title *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī*) in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1903.

For Mss. of this work see Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, No. 2691 (this Ms., which is incomplete towards the beginning, is dated 1533 Śaka and 919 of the Malla era); Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 643; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 548-9, No. 1712; A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. Mss. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 80, No. 643; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit Mss.* Second Series, I, pp. 166-8, No. 163 (this Ms., which is dated 1533 Śaka and 919 of the Malla era and has lost the first three leaves, seems to be the same as that described by Shastri in his *ASB Catalogue*); Dacca University Ms. No. 2981 (this Ms. has lost fols. 1-6, 12-15 and 55); *A Catalogue of Sanskrit Mss. in the Private Libraries of North-west Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 74.

The *Dāna-kaumudī* is called *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Dāna-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon. It is only in the colophon of the India Office Ms. that the work is called *Dāna-kriyā-kaumudī*.

It is to be noted that whenever Govindānanda has to refer to this work, he mentions it as '*Dāna-kaumudī*' and not as '*Dāna-*

(4) *Kriyā-kaumudī.*

This is a distinct and independent work of Govindānanda and not a general digest comprising the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* as Theodore Aufrecht[5] and P. V. Kane[6] think. Had it been a general digest comprising the above mentioned works, it would not have been referred to in one of its parts (viz., *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 559) by its general title which would include that part also.

The above mentioned conjecture of Aufrecht and Kane seems to be based on the colophons of the printed edition and some of the Mss. of the *Dāna-kaumudī* wherein this work has been said to be the second Yāma (quarter or part) of the *Kriyā-kaumudī*[7]. But this information contained in the colophons of the printed edition and the Mss. mentioned above seems to be wrong because of the facts that there are other Mss of the *Dāna-kaumudī* whose colophons do not mention any *Kriyā-kaumudī* as the general digest,[8] that none of the Mss. of the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* calls these works parts of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* or any other work[9], and that the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* mentions not only the *Kriyā-kaumudī* but also the *Dāna-kaumudī* and the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, thus showing the distinct and independent character of all these

kriyā-kaumudī'. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 340, 529; *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 160, 162, 174, 325; and *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 216.

5. *Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 169 (under 'Govindānanda or Govinda Kavi') and 249 (under '*Dāna-kaumudī*').

6. P. V. Kane, *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415.

7. See the Bibliotheca Indica edition of the *Dāna-kaumudī*, whose colophon runs as follows: iti śrīgovindānanda-kavikaṅkaṇa-viracitāyāṃ kriyā-kaumudyāṃ dāna-kaumudī nāma dvitīyo yāmaḥ samāptaḥ.

See also Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, No. 2691; Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 643; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sankrit MSS*, Second Series, I, pp. 166-8, No. 163; and so on.

8. See Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 548-9, No. 1712-iti śrīgovinda-kavi-kṛta-dānakriyākaumudī samāptā; Dacca University MS. No. 2981—iti śrīgovindānanda-kavikaṅkaṇācārya-viracitā dānakaumudī samāptā; and so on.

9. For MSS. of the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and *Varṣa-kaumudī* see footnotes 13 and 14 below.

works. It seems that in course of time some scribe of a Ms. of the *Dāna kaumudī*, who might have heard of a *Kriyā-kaumudī* but was quite ignorant of its distinct and independent character, took its title to be that of a general digest comprising the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī* etc. (because the titles of these works, except that of the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, end in 'kriyā-kaumudī' in the introductory verses) and modified the colophon of his Ms. accordingly. This modification was followed by others, and thus in some Mss. of only the *Dāna-kaumudī* the colophons came to mention the *Kriyā-kaumudī* as a general digest.

That the *Kriyā-kaumudī* is a work of Govindānanda is shown by the way in which it has been referred to in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* in connection with Nitya-śrāddha[10]. It is to be noted that, except in the case of this *Kriyā-kaumudī*, wherever Govindānanda has to refer to any other work or works for a particular topic or its detailed treatment, he invariably refers to his own.[11] Hence there can be little doubt regarding Govindānanda's authorship of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* which also is referred to in a similar way.

The mention of the *Kriyā-kaumudī* in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* (which, again, is mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*) shows that it is one of the early digests of Govindānanda, most probably written after the *Dāna-kaumudī* which, being perhaps the first digest, does not mention any of his other works but refers only to itself[12]. As there is no second mention of the *Kriyākaumudī* in any of the works of Govindānanda (except in the colophons of some of the Mss. of the *Dāna-kaumudī*) and as no Ms. of this work has been found as yet, it is not possible to say whether the *Kriyā-kaumudī* was preceded in its composition by the *Śuddhi-kaumudī* also, which mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī* and is itself mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*.

The *Kriyā-kaumudī* must not be confused with the *Varṣa-kaumudī* (as has been done by the learned editor of the latter)

10. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, p. 559 - prayogas tu kriyā-kaumudyāṃ draṣṭavyaḥ.

11. See *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 64, 117, 184, 191; *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, pp. 160, 162, 174, 325; *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 85, 323, 340, 342, 348, 380, 440, 483, 529; *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 20, 22, 111. 216, 236, 348, 352, 359, 487, 489, 559.

12. See *Dāna-kaumudī*, pp. 64, 117. 184, 191.

which is a quite different work. The topic (viz., the Prayoga of Nitya-śrāddha), for which it is referred to in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, is not found in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Further, the *Kriyā-kaumudī* is mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* which, again, is mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Hence the *Kriyā-kaumudī* was written earlier than the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.

(5) *Śuddhi-kaumudī*[13].

(6) *Śrāddha-kaumudī*.[14]

13. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published under the title *Śuddhi-kaumudī* in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1905.

For MSS. of this work see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 564, No. 1744 (this Ms. is incomplete at the end); Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 272, No. 644; H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS*, Second Series, I, pp. 370-1, No 367 (this MS. is dated 1715 Śaka); A. B. Keith, *Catalogue of Sans. MSS in the Bodleian Library*, p. 80, No. 644; *A Catalogue of Sans. MSS in Private Libraries of North-West Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 100.

The *Śuddhi-kaumudī* is so called in the introductory and the concluding verses as well as in the colophon.

It is to be noted that Govindānanda also refers to this work as '*Śuddhi-kaumudī*'. See *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, pp. 323, 342, 348, 440, 483; *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 236, 359, 559.

14. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published under the title '*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*' in the Bibliotheca Indica Series, Calcutta, 1904.

For MSS. of this work see H. P. Sastri, *Notices of Sanskrit MSS.*, Second Series, I, pp. 378-9, No. 373; *A Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in Private Libraries of North-West Provinces*, Part I (Benares 1874), p. 140.

The *Śrāddha-kaumudī* is called *Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Śrāddha-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon (except in the colophon of the MS. described in H. P. Shastri's *Notices of Sans. Mss*, I, pp. 378-9 wherein it is called *Śrāddha-kriyā-prayoga-kaumudī*).

It is to be noted that Govindānanda himself refers to this work as '*Śrāddha-kaumudī*' and not as '*Śrāddha-kriyā-kaumudī*'. See *Varṣa-kaumudī*, pp. 20, 22, 348, 352, 487, 489. See also Kamalākarabhaṭṭa's *Nirṇaya-sindhu* (NSP ed., pp. 291, 294, 335, 347, 432, 433 etc.) for mention of this work as '*Śrāddha-kaumudī*'.

(7) *Varṣa-kaumudī*.[15]

It is called *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī* in the introductory verses but simply *Varṣa-kaumudī* in the concluding verses and the colophon. Govindānanda himself once calls it *Saṃvatsara-kaumudī* in his commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścitta-viveka*.[16]

(8) *Tattvārtha-kaumudī*.[17]

This is a commentary on Śūlapāṇi's *Prāyaścitta-viveka*. It seems to be a work of Govindānanda's late age, and is not one of his earliest works as Manomohan Chakravarti thinks,[18] because it mentions the *Saṃvatsara-kaumudī* (which is, as we

15. Edited by Pandit Kamala-kṛṣṇa Smṛtibhūṣaṇa and published in the Bibl. Ind. Series, Calcutta, 1902.

For MSS. of this work see Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, pp. 527-8, No. 1654; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sanskrit College Catalogue*, II, pp. 423-4, No. 473; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, IV, pp. 117-8, No. 1530 (this MS. is dated Śaka 1766); Śhastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 723, No. 2692 (this MS., which is dated Śaka 1765, is the same as that noticed by R. L. Mitra); Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descriptive Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad*, Calcutta, p. 133.

16. See *Prāyaścitta-viveka* with Govindānanda's commentary, ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, p. 286—

'smṛti-samuccaye—pakṣādau ca ravau ṣaṣṭhyāṃ riktāyāṃ ca tathā tithau | tailenābhyañjamānas tu caturbhir api hīyate|| ityādi saṃvatsara-kaumudyāṃ vivṛtam asmābhiḥ'.

This reference is made to *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 85 where the above mentioned verse occurs as from the *Smṛti-samuccaya*.

17. This commentary has been published with the *Prāyaścitta-viveka* by Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta, 1893.

For MSS. of this commentary see Aufrecht, *Bodleian Catalogue*, p. 283, No. 661; Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, III, p. 554, No. 1724; R. L. Mitra, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, II, p. 63, No. 625; Shastri and Gui, *Calcutta Sans. College Catalogue*, II, pp. 173-5, Nos. 193-4 (the concluding verse of MS. No. 193 is:

gaṇapati-tanujo govindānanda-paṇḍitaḥ śrīmān|
atinirbandhād viduṣāṃ samakṛta tattvārtha-kaumudīṃ ramyām ||);

A. B. Keith, *Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Bodleian Library*, p. 83, No. 661; Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Parisad*, p. 155.

18. *JASB*, XI, 1915, p. 355, footnote 2.

have already seen, the same as the author's *Varṣa-kaumudī*) and says in its final verse that it was written by him at the great persuasion of the scholars of his time,[19] thus showing his wide repute in the learned circle. It is to be noted that the *Varṣa-kaumudī*, which is mentioned in the *Tattvārtha-kaumudī*, itself mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī* and *Śrāddha-kaumudī* and is thus a work of Govindānanda's late age.

(9) *Mantra-puraścaraṇa.*[20]

This work is written in verse and deals with the selection of proper time and place for Mantra-puraścaraṇa, its procedure, etc.

(10) A commentary (called *Artha-kaumudī*, *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* or *Śrāddha-vīveka-kaumudī*)[21] on Śūlapāṇi's *Śrāddha-viveka.*

19. atinirbandhād viduṣām akarot tattvārtha-kaumudīṃ ramyām.

20. H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I, pp. 274-5, No. 271 (it is incomplete at the end and bears no date).

21. The MS. of Govindānanda's *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā*, noticed by R. L. Mitra in his *Notices*, IX, p. 251 (No. 3175), calls itself *Arthakaumudī* and is incomplete at the end.

The Dacca University MS. No. 4313 (fol. 118 to the end) of the same commentary calls itself *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* and seems to be incomplete towards the beginning. It ends thus:

kva śūlapāṇer vacanaṃ garīyaḥ kva matiḥ (? no matiḥ) sūkṣma-vicāra-bhīruḥ |
tathāpi govinda-padāravinda-dhyānāt parāṃ śaktim iha vyajānīt ||
kecit khyāti-grahilāḥ prācīnācāra-dūṣaṇe paṭavaḥ |
mama mataṃ tiṣṭhāpayiṣor vācaṃ santo' nugṛhṇantu ||
śrīmac-chrāddha-vivekasya ṭīkā vidvan-manoramā |
govindānanda-kṛtinā kṛtā tattvārtha-kaumudī ||
sarvāntaryāmine tasmai govindāya namo namaḥ |
yeneha tatparāḥ santo dhīmanto modaṃ āpnuyuḥ ||

Its colophon (iti śrīgovindānandācārya-viracitā tattvārtha-kaumudī nāma śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā samāptā) is followed by the post-colophon statement:

śāke vasugajeṣukṣmā mite govindaśarmaṇā |
śūlapāṇi-kṛta-grantha-ṭīkā likhyate yatnataḥ ||
..'

which shows that the MS. is fairly old, being copied by one Govinda-śarman in Śaka 1588.

The third introductory verse

'viracitavān api viduṣām atihṛdyaṃ śrāddha-kaumudī-tantram|

śiṣyābhyarthana-vaśagaḥ saṃprati Govindo.....śrīmān||

of this commentary shows clearly that Govindānanda wrote it after the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, *Śuddhi-kaumudī* etc. at the request of his pupils. Thus the *Śrāddha-viveka-ṭīkā* is one of Govindānanda's late works.

(11) A commentary (called *Artha-ratna-prabhā* or *Artha-prabhāvatī* or *Jātakārṇava-kaumudī*) on Varāhamihira's *Jātakārṇava* after supplementing it with a section on solar and lunar eclipse written in accordance with the *Sūrya-siddhānta*, as either Varāhamihira did not add any such section to his *Jātakārṇava* or such a section, though added by Varāhamihira, was not much in vogue in this country.[22]

Now, a MS. of the *Dāna-kaumudī* is dated Śaka 1533 (*i.e.* 1611 A.D.),[23] thus showing that the *Dāna-kaumudī* must

See also Chintaharan Chakravarti, *Descr. Cat. of Sans. MSS. in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad*, p. 156 where the commentary is called *Śrāddha-viveka-kaumudī*.

22. Eggeling, *India Office Catalogue*, V, p. 1101, No. 3083.—The commentary on chap. 5 (dealing with Candra-sūrya-nirṇaya) begins:

idānīṃ candra-sūrya-grahaṇaṃ śrīmad-varāhamihirācāryeṇopekṣitaṃ racitaṃ vā

deśe asmin na pracarad-rūpaṃ mayā pariśiṣya svayam eva vivicyate|

ālocya sūrya-racitaṃ siddhāntaṃ jātakārṇava-granthe

pariśiṣyate prayatnād govindānanda-dhīmatā grahaṇam|| etc.

That Govindānanda added to the *Jātakārṇava* a section on solar and lunar eclipse written according to the *Sūrya-siddhānta* is also shown by his statement 'sa ca kāla-nirṇayaḥ sūrya-siddhāntānusāreṇāsmābhir jātakārṇava-granthe vivṛto sti' made in his *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 11 in connection with Grahaṇa-kāla-nirṇaya.

See also *Catalogue of Sans. MSS. in the Sans. College Library*, Benares, p. 430 (No. 2834) where the commentary is called *Jātakārṇava-kaumudī*.

23. Shastri, *ASB Catalogue*, III, p. 722, and H. P. Shastri, *Notices of Sans. MSS.*, I, pp. 166-8, No. 163.

have been written earlier than 1600 A.D. In connection with the intercalary months Govindānanda mentions the Śaka years 1449-1457 (*i.e.* 1527-1535 A.D.) in his *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, which, therefore, must have been written after, but not very long after, Śaka 1457 (*i.e.* 1535 A.D.). Hence the *Śuddhi-kaumudī* was written probably about 1540 A.D. Now, the *Śuddhi-kaumudī*, which mentions the *Dāna-kaumudī*, is itself mentioned in the *Śrāddha-kaumudī*, and the *Śrāddha-kaumudī* has been mentioned in the *Varṣa-kaumudī* which, again, has been mentioned in the *Tattvārtha-kaumudī* under the name of *Saṃvatsara-kaumudī*. So the period of Govindānanda's literary activity must have extended to a few years after 1540 A.D., say up to 1560 A.D.

Raghunandana, a resident of Navadvīpa, mentions a *Kriyā-kaumudī* in his *Āhnika-tattva*[24]. But this *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana is most probably not identical with that of Govindānanda, because there is no second mention either of Govindānanda or his works in any of the numerous works of Raghunandana. In his *History of Dharma-śāstra*, I, p. 415 P. V. Kane says that Govindānanda is quoted by Raghunandana in his *Mala-māsa-tattva* and *Āhnika-tattva* and thus makes the same mistake as was done by the learned editor of the *Varṣa-kaumudī* by confusing the *Varṣa-kṛtya* and the *Kriyā-kaumudī* with the *Varṣa-kaumudī*[25] (or *Varṣa-kriyā-kaumudī*, which is also sometimes called *Varṣa-kṛtya-kaumudī*). As a matter of fact the *Varṣa-kṛtya* is an older work mentioned by Śūlapāṇi in his *Durgotsava-viveka*, p. 26 and by Raghunandana as a work of Vidyāpati in his *Mala-māsa-tattva*[26], and the *Kriyā-kaumudī* also cannot be identical with the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.[27] Moreover, in his *Tithi-*

24. See *Smṛti-tattva* (ed. Jīvānanda Vidyāsāgara, Calcutta), I, p. 343-kriyā-kaumudyāṃ vasiṣṭhaḥ - 'guvāka-tāla-hintālās tathā tāḍī ca ketakī | kharjūra-nārikelau ca saptaite tṛṇa-rājakāḥ || etc.'

As these lines of Vasiṣṭha are not found in any of the extant works of Govindānanda, it is sure that the *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana is a work quite different from the extant works of Govindānanda.

25. *Varṣa-kaumudī*. Preface, p. ii.

26. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 823 - 'vidyāpati-kṛta-varṣakṛtye'.

27. See *ante*. For a detailed discussion on this point see also *JASB*, XI, 1915, p. 356.

tattva Raghunandana quotes from the *Varṣa-kṛtya* three metrical lines of an unnamed author and two of Garga[28], but these lines are not found in the *Varṣa-kaumudī*; and in the *Mala-māsa-tattva* two verses of the *Nāradīya-purāṇa* are quoted from the *Varṣa-kṛtya* and the word 'Niṣpāva' occuring in one of these quoted lines is said to have been explained there as 'Śveta-śimbi'[29], but of the two verses mentioned above the *Varṣa-kaumudī* contains only the second one (vratopavāsa-niyamaiḥ etc.) with the mention of the '*Brahmāṇḍa*' as the source[30] and explains the word 'Niṣpāva' occurring in the line 'niṣpāvān rājamāṣāṃś ca' as 'Deva-dhānya' and not as 'Śveta-śimbi'.[31] In the *Ekādaśī-tattva* there is a reference to the *Varṣa-kṛtya* as containing the reading 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' for the second Pāda of the line 'saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte etc.'[32] But this reference, though found in *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 62,[33] must not be taken seriously, because Govindānanda also derives the lines 'saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte etc. not direct from Devala's work but from some other Smṛti Nibandha where these lines with the reading 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' was quoted under the name of Devala. In the *Āhnika-tattva* a '*Kaumudī*' is

28. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 103 - varṣa-kṛtye—vittaṃ brahmaṇi kārya-siddhir atulā śakre hutāśe bhayaṃ etc., and p. 141—kalānyūnārdharātre tu yadi saṃkramaṇaṃ bhavet | tadahaḥ puṇyam icchanti gārgya-gālava-gotamāḥ || iti varṣa-kṛtya-dhṛta-garga-vacanāt.

29. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 822 - varṣa-kṛtye nāradīyam—avratena kṣiped yas tu māsaṃ dāmodara-priyam | tiryag-yonim avāpnoti sarva-dharma-bahiṣkṛtaḥ || vratopavāsa-niyamaiḥ kārttiko yasya gacchati | devo vaimāniko bhūtvā sa yāti paramāṃ gatim || tathā, niṣpāvān rājamāṣāṃś ca supte deve janārdane | niṣpāvaḥ śveta-śimbir iti varṣa-kṛtyam |

30. *Varṣa-kaumudī*, p. 456.

31. *Ibid.*, pp. 458-9-nāradīye—niṣpāvān rājamāṣāṃś ca supte deve janārdane | niṣpāvo deva-dhānyam |

32. *Smṛti-tattva*, II, p. 100 - saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte dvādaśyāṃ pārayet katham | 'pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham' iti varṣa-kṛtye pāṭhaḥ |

33. Yat tu—saṃkaṭe viṣame prāpte pāraṇaṃ tu bhavet katham | adbhis tu pāraṇaṃ kuryāt punar naktaṃ na doṣa-kṛt || iti devalanāmnā vacanaṃ tad yadi samūlaṃ syāt tadā |.

referred to,[34] but this reference also is not found in the extant works of Govindānanda.

That Govindānanda's works were not known to Raghunandana is also shown by the fact that though the former severely criticises, and very often refutes, with unfair remarks, the views of Śrīnātha Ācārya-cūḍāmaṇi by calling him 'Ādhunika', Raghunandana does not say even a single word against all these. Had Raghunandana known Govindānanda's works, he would never have spared the latter for such objectionable remarks. On the other hand, Govindānanda also does not mention Raghunandana or any of his works. This silence of both about each other shows that they were contemporaries and that either they did not like to add importance to each other or their works, being contemporaneous, did not reach each other.

Even if the *Kriyā-kaumudī* mentioned by Raghunandana be taken to be identical with that of Govindānanda, there being no second *Kriya-kaumudī* mentioned in the works earlier than those of Raghunandana, it does not go against the contemporaneity of these two writers. It only shows that Govindānanda wrote his *Kriyā-kaumudī* some time earlier than Raghunandana's *Āhnika-tattva* (which is one of his early works but not the earliest).

As Govindānanda mentions the *Madana-pārijāta*, the *Gaṅgāvākyāvalī*, Rudradhara and Vācaspati-miśra, the period of his literary activity cannot be placed earlier than 1500 A.D. Hence we shall not be very far from the truth if we place Govindānanda's literary activity between 1520 and 1560 A.D.

The above date for Govindānanda may also be arrived at from that of his father Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa who wrote his *Jyotiṣmatī* in the 4613th year of the Kali-yuga *i.e.*, about 1510 A.D. The concluding verse of the *Jyotiṣmatī*,[35] wherein the

34. *Smṛti-tattva*, I, p. 376—
'śūdrodakair na kurvīta tathā meghādi-niḥsṛtaiḥ' iti darśanād iti kaumudī.

35. viśvāṅga-śruti-saṃmite 4613 kali-yugasyābde prasiddhāhvayo bhaṭṭaḥ khyāta-guṇottaro gaṇapatir jyotirvidām agraṇīḥ | lakṣmī-nandi-purandarānuja-pada-dvandvāravindārpita-svāntaḥ saṃtatam indirā-parigato jyotiṣmatīm ātanot ||

above mentioned date occurs, contains for Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa the adjectives 'Prasiddhāhvayaḥ', 'Khyāta-guṇottaraḥ', 'Jyotirvidām agraṇīḥ' and 'Bhaṭṭaḥ' (the title Bhaṭṭa being awarded generally to reputed scholars in those days), which show that the *Jyotiṣmatī* was the product of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's mature age. Hence if we allow a decade more to have elapsed before Govindānanda could begin to write his works, we arrive at about 1520 A.D. as the starting point of the latter's literary activity.

It should be mentioned here that I have not yet been able to find any MS. of Gaṇapati Bhaṭṭa's *Jyotiṣmatī* or any reference to it anywhere except in the Preface to the Bibl. Ind. edition of the *Varṣa-kaumudī*.

"BHARATA SAVITRI"

BY

K. BALASUBRAHMANYA IYER

This attractive, meaningful and intriguing phrase is not as well-known in the south of India as it ought to be, and as it is, in western India. Towards the end of the Mahabharata in the Svargarohana Parvan there occur four slokas of great verve, beauty and terseness to which Vyasa, the immortal bard of the epic, has given the name of 'Bharata Savitri'. This set of four slokas is to be found in all the recensions of the Mahabharata, northern and southern, except in the P. P. S. Sastri edition of the Southern recension. The poet himself in the sloka next to these four states that the preceding set of four slokas is known as Bharata Savitri and adds that he who, every morning, reads them obtains the fruit of the Bharata and realises the Supreme Brahman.

इमां भारतसावित्रीं प्रातरुत्थाय यः पठेत् ।
स भारतफलं प्राप्य परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥

By naming this Catussloki or collection of four slokas, Bharata Savitri, the author establishes clearly that it contains the essence and the moral of the Great Epic. It is well-known that the word 'Savitri' is only another name for the 'Gayatri'. Etymologically, Savitri means the hymn dedicated to the worship of the Sun or Savita and as the Gayatri is par excellence the Mantra dedicated to the Sun, it has appropriately come to be known as Savitri also. The Gayatri Mantra is declared by the Vedas themselves as their essence. Hence the word 'Savitri' added to the word 'Bharata' gives the meaning 'essence of the Bharata'. The Bharata is regarded as the fifth Veda (*Vide* Mahabharata Parvan 18, Adh. 5—sl 79). The Bhavishyat Purana also declares thus: "What is known as the Mahabharata is the fifth Veda pertaining to Krishna or Vyasa."

कार्ष्णः पंचमो वेदः यन्महाभारतं स्मृतम् ।

As the Bharata is Veda, the word 'Savitri' in conjunction with it, can quite appropriately mean the essence of the Bharata. That the meaning of the word 'Savitri' is 'essence' in this

context is also confirmed by the commentary of Nilakantha on the Mahabarata. Nilakantha observes as follows:

संध्यायां भारतं पठनीयमित्युक्तं तत्र पठनयोग्यं भारतसारसंग्रहं चतुः-श्लोकीरूपमाह मातेति ।

He is of opinion that the Catussloki is the 'Bharata-sara-sangraha'. There is also another appropriateness in the appellation given by the author. The poet exhorts the reader to recite these four slokas and meditate upon them every morning in the same manner as the Gayatri Mantra is done daily morning. The late reputed scholar Mr. C. V. Vaidya, in his valuable book entitled "Mahabharata—a Criticism", refers to the custom among Pandits in western India of reciting the Bharata Savitri as part of the morning prayer.

The four verses known as Bharata Savitri are the following and they may be translated thus:

(1) मातापितृसहस्राणि पुत्रदारशतानि च ।
संसारेष्वनुभूतानि यान्ति यास्यन्ति चापरे ॥

(2) हर्षस्थानसहस्राणि भयस्थानशतानि च ।
दिवसे दिवसे मूढमाविशन्ति न पण्डितम् ॥

(3) ऊर्ध्वबाहुर्विरौम्येषः न च कश्चित् शृणोति माम् ।
धर्मादर्थश्च कामश्च स किमर्थं न सेव्यते ॥

(4) न जातु कामान्न भयान्नलोभात्
धर्मं त्यजेत् जीवितस्यापि हेतोः ।
नित्यो धर्मः सुखदुःखे त्वनित्ये
जीवो नित्यः हेतुरस्यत्वनित्यः ॥

(1) "Thousands of fathers and mothers and hundreds of sons and wives were known and had gone, are going and will go in the future, in the course of Samsara."

(2) "Thousands of occasions for joy and hundreds of causes of fear, engross every day the mind of the ignorant but not that of the man of wisdom."

(3) "With uplifted arm I shout, but none hears me: from Dharma result Artha and Kama, why then is Dharma not observed?"

(4) "Not out of passion or fear or avarice, not even for the sake of life, should one ever abandon Dharma.

Dharma is eternal, Happiness and misery are not eternal. The soul is eternal. That which embodies it is not eternal."

The second of these four slokas is also to be found earlier in the Anusasana Parva Adh. 244, sl. 3.

Let us now analyse the import of these four slokas and see how they form the essence and the moral of the Epic. From the impassioned way in which the poet speaks of the supreme value of Dharma, in the third sloka, one can clearly realize that it is his profound conviction that Dharma is absolutely necessary for the welfare of the world and that it is the essence of his teaching in his immortal epic. He regards Dharma as the one supreme value of life and gives his reason for it. It is only from Dharma that the other two Purusharthas or values of life *viz.*, Artha or material prosperity and Kama or enjoyment of desires, result. The poet argues that as it is the natural instinct of man to yearn for Artha and Kama and as both these can be attained by the observance of Dharma, it is essential for man to follow the dictates of Dharma. He adds another potent reason for his emphasis upon Dharma. Dharma, he says, is eternal and undying while happiness and misery are momentary and changing. Hence he would exhort every man never to abandon Dharma even if his passion, avarice, fear or attachment to life come into conflict with his observance of Dharma. He proclaims in no uncertain terms the fundamental truth that the eternal Dharma sustains the soul of man which is also eternal while Artha and Kama pertain to the impermanent and decaying human body and, that during the course of the endless cycle of births and deaths, the soul takes many bodies. Vyasa's conception of Dharma, we see, therefore, is based upon and is closely bound up with, the fundamental belief in the eternity of the human soul and its incarnation in many bodies during its long pilgrimage through Samsara and on the conviction of the impermanance of worldly existence and of the evanescence of earthly objects and pleasures. The first two slokas clearly enunciate these two fundamental doctrines.

The conception of Dharma, its purpose, significance and basic principles have been fully enunciated and developed in this great epic and the poet uses the word 'Dharma' in the Bharata Savitri with its full implication and significance. The

derivation of the word, its meaning and purpose are pointed out in the Karna Parva of the Mahabharatha as follows:—

धारणात् धर्म इत्याहुः धर्मो धारयते प्रजाः ।
यः स्यात् धारणसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥ (69, 59)

It is explained herein that the word 'Dharma' comes from the root 'Dhr' 'to hold' or 'uphold' and that all human beings are held together by Dharma. The test of Dharma is this holding together. According to Vyasa, therefore, the purpose of Dharma is the stability of society and the general welfare of mankind and whatever conduces to the fulfilment of this purpose is called Dharma. A similar definition of Dharma and its purpose is also given by him in the Santi Parvan (Adh. 109, sl. 14).

It is Vyasa's firm conviction that Dharma is based fundamentally upon truth, truth about man, truth about the soul and truth about God. That the meaning of Dharma is really the pursuit, in actual conduct, of truth or the 'anushthana' of truth is well borne out by the use of the word in our religious literature in conjunction with two other important words, Ṛta and Satya. All these three words Ṛta, Satya and Dharma have a very ancient history going back to the Ṛg Veda. Both the words Ṛta and Satya are found in the Ṛg Veda in the following text:—

ऋतं च सत्यं चाभीद्धात् तपसोऽध्यजायत । (Ṛk. 10, 190, 1)

Explaining the meaning of the word Ṛta, Vidyaranya, the learned commentator of the Ṛg Veda, says that it is मानसं यथार्थसंकल्पनम्, the mental perception of truth. The words Satya and Dharma are found together in the following lines of the Taittiriya Upanishad "Satyam Vada" and "Dharmam Chara". In the Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad the intimate connection between Satya and Dharma is clearly pointed out in the following lines: यो वै स धर्मः सत्यं वै तत् । (Bṛh. Up. 1-4-64) Sankara in his commentary on this text explains that Satya is the speaking of truth while Dharma is the observance of truth.

सत्यं यथाशास्त्रार्थता, स एव अनुष्ठीयमानो धर्मनामा भवति ।

An analysis of the significance of these three words shows that Ṛta denotes the mental perception of truth, while Satya connotes the accurate and true expression in words of the truths perceived by the mind and that Dharma is the observance

in conduct of the truths so perceived and expressed. In fact, Dharma is the way of life which translates into action the truths perceived by the man of insight. In short, Ṛta is truth in thought, Satya is truth in word, and Dharma is truth in deed. That the real test of Dharma is its efficacy to contribute to the prosperity and well-being of mankind is affirmed in sl. 10 Adh. 104 of Santi Parvan.

प्रभवार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यः स्यात् प्रभवसंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

Vyasa, further says, in the Tuladhara-Jajali-samvada, Adh. 268, sl. 9, that he knows Dharma who is always the friend of all and who is devoted to the welfare of all, in deed, thought and word.

सर्वेषां च सुहृन्नित्यं सर्वेषां च हिते रतः ।
कर्मणा मनसा वाचा स धर्मं वेद जाजले ॥

Unlike Marxian Communism or totalitarian Fascism whose avowed object is also to bring about the welfare of mankind, Dharma operates to achieve this object in the spirit and atmosphere of Ahimsa or non-violence. In Santi Parvan Adh. 109, sl. 15, Vyasa declares that, for the purpose of ahimsa of all beings, Dharma has been enunciated. 'That which is imbued with Ahimsa is decided to be Dharma'.

अहिंसार्थाय भूतानां धर्मप्रवचनं कृतम् ।
यस्स्यात् अहिंसासंयुक्तः स धर्म इति निश्चयः ॥

The reign of Dharma is based on the negation of the doctrine "Might is right", and rests on spiritual efficacy and not on brute force or military power. This is beautifully expressed in the Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad in the following text:—

स नैव व्यभवत् तत् श्रेयोरूपम् अत्यसृजत । धर्मं तदेतत् क्षत्रस्य क्षत्रं यत् धर्मः । तस्मात् धर्मात्परं नास्ति । अथो अबलीयान् बलीयांसम् आशंसते धर्मेण, यथा राज्ञा । एवं यो वै स धर्मः । सत्यं वै तत् ॥

"After creating mankind, Prajapati felt this insufficient and he therefore proceeded to create, over and above, Dharma of the form of highest welfare. This Dharma is the controller of the Kshatriya. Therefore, there is nothing higher than Dharma. So even a weak man seeks to control a stronger man

through Dharma as one does through the King. That Dharma is truth."

In his commentary on this text, the great Sankara makes a very pregnant observation explaining why the Lord felt His work insufficient and proceeded to create Dharma over and above the Kshatriya or Ruler and Warrior. He says that merely because of the brute force of a Kshatriya, doubt arises that he cannot be depended upon always for the stability of society.

उग्रत्वात् क्षत्रियस्य अनियताशङ्क्या ।

In the Santi Parvan, Parasara Gita, Adh. 300, sl. 29 to 31, Vyasa declares that it is the observance of Dharma that distinguishes man from the beast and that the wise man observes Dharma in life, works among men in the spirit of Ahimsa and with the full realisation of his own self, whether he be actuated by desire or has renounced the world. He further says that man of Dharma removes all the good and bad vasanas from the his mind, is never swayed by falsehood and attains the highest good. Dharma is not humanitarian materialism. It is something loftier than that. The concept is spiritual and moral, and is based upon the truth of the realisation of the Supreme Reality and belief in the evanescence of all earthly existence and worldly pleasures. In the Yakshaprasna Chapter of the Mahabharata, in the form of questions and answers, this is made abundantly clear: 'The intellectual man who fully enjoys life, who is honoured among men and is the friend of all, still cannot be called a man of Dharma if he does not discharge his religious duties to the Devas, to his ancestors, to the guests, to his dependants and to himself'.[1] The concept of Dharma is spiritual and moral and comprehends the entire gamut of man's duties to God, to his fellowmen and to his higher self. It does

यक्षः—

इन्द्रियार्थाननुभवन् बुद्धिमान् लोकपूजितः ।
संमतः सर्वभूतानां उच्छ्वसन् को न जीवति ॥

धर्मपुत्रः—

देवतातिथिभृत्यानां पितॄणामात्मनश्च यः ।
न निर्वपति पंचानां उच्छ्वसन् न स जीवति ॥

(Vana, Adh. 314, sl. 59, 60)

not emphasise rights, and the insistence on duties serves the same purpose as the assertion of the corresponding rights. It is not mere humanitarianism or social well-being. It is this conception of Dharma as leading to Moksha or the realisation of God, as contributing to the stability of society and the welfare of mankind and as based upon truth and Ahimsa that Vyasa has enunciated in his epic. This Dharma concept is the essence and the moral of Mahabharata. The 'Bharata Savitri' declares this Dharma as the pivot of life and sustenance of the soul and exhorts every man not to ever abandon it, even though passion, avarice, fear or attachment to life may dictate otherwise. Vyasa is fond of proclaiming often "Where there is Dharma, there is Victory". "Yato Dharmah tato Jayah". In the true spirit of non-violence and spirituality, Dharma overcomes evil and attains victory. Hence, the Mahabharata is itself called 'Jaya' and we find it so named both in the beginning and the end of it.

(1) नारायणं नमस्कृत्य नरं चैव नरोत्तमम् ।
देवीं सरस्वतीं चैव ततो जयमुदीरयेत् ॥

(2) जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो मोक्षमिच्छता ॥

MUSIC AND DANCE IN KALIDASA.*

BY

K. V. RAMACHANDRAN

I

MUSIC

My first duty is to thank Mr. K. Balasubrahmanaya Iyer, Mr. K. Chandrasekharan and Dr. V. Raghavan for their kindness in giving me this opportunity to talk to you on Kalidasa today. Secondly, I have to request your indulgence and patience for my shortcomings, due to which, intending a sonnet, I happen to give you instead, an ode. You are all familiar with the poetic and dramatic genius of Kalidasa. Today I wish to stress his mastery of Music and Dance and the excellent use he finds for this knowledge, though we have all but lost the rich music that went into the making of his plays, and have to build up his dance medium tardily from sources like the Natya Sastra and the oversea traditions of the art. We know that music, dance and other fine arts reached undreamt of heights of achievement in ancient India, but do not know how exactly they had worked themselves into life at courts and palaces, what birds and animals the members of that sophisticated society petted, what costume and jewelry they wore and what sports and pastimes they favoured. But when the Hindus colonised countries like Java, Siam and Cambodia, they carried many of their art traditions and customs overseas; and these afford invaluable sidelight into the social history of our remote past, which I have utilised here and there, getting my data from friends like Dr. J. Kunst.

In his description of Narada's descent, Magha has the following verse:

रणद्भिराघट्टनया नभस्वतः पृथग्विभिन्नश्रुतिमण्डलैः स्वरैः ।
स्फुटीभवद्ग्रामविशेषमूर्च्छनामवेक्षमाणं महतीं मुहुर्मुहुः ॥

When thus Magha described Narada's harp, the Mahati breaking into the soprano music of the Gandhara Grama at the touch of breeze, he did not indulge in poetic exaggeration, but described with cold precision, the Aeolian harp—an instrument in common use in ancient India, China and Greece. In this harp, wires of varying thicknesses were stretched over bridges

* Text of a Talk at the Kalidasa Day celebrations of the Madras Sanskrit Academy on 19-10-50.

at varying tensions, within a box frame oblong or triangular; in a current of air, the strings vibrating variously according to their thickness and tension, generated a variety of high fluty tones of a mysterious timbre and beauty known as 'harmonics', which modified themselves in a variety of shades, according to the force of the draught, producing an ethereal and elusive melody. Kalidasa refers to the Aeolian harp in his description of Narada; there the gust of wind that awoke the trembling strings of the harp, detached also the celestial flowers on its scroll, at sight of which Indumati closed her eyes in eternal sleep, even as she lay on the lap of Aja. Ancient musical theory grouped Ragas into three Gramas according to their pitch level: the Ragas of the Shadja Grama had the range of the deep bass and baritone; those of the Madyama Grama that of the heroic tenor; and those of the Gandhara Grama that of the lyric soprano. This high pitched Ga Grama was probably assigned on the stage to the Gods and heavenly beings, the Kinnaras and Gandharvas and characters like Narada and Urvasi—a circumstance that would explain the association of this Grama with heaven, in later musical literature. The Aeolian harp was perhaps tuned to the Ga Grama even as the drums and flutes were, by human hands, but played upon by the invisible hands of Wind when installed in a breezy niche of the palace or temple.

Then there was the Aeolian flute referred to thus by Kalidasa:

यः पूरयन्कीचकरन्ध्रभागान्दरीमुखोत्थेन समीरणेन ।
उद्गास्यतामिच्छति किन्नराणां तानप्रदायित्वमिवोपगन्तुम् ॥
K. S. 1. 8.

"As though desirous of accompanying the soprano music of the Kinnaras, Himalaya blowing from a cave mouth filled the holes of the dry bamboo". According to the commentator this meant that either the bamboo provided the characteristic Amsa Swara or phrase (Tana) *Or* that the bamboo accompanied the singing of the Kinnaras; I prefer the latter interpretation, which suggests a fitful kind of accompaniment, now anticipating, now following—a felicitous touch as the playing was dependant on wayward gusts of wind. Nor should we lose sight of the subtle suggestion as to how much more beautiful the harmonics of the Kinnaras' high-pitched vocal singing were.

स कीचकैर्मारुतपूर्णरन्ध्रैः कूजद्भिरापादितवंशकृत्यम् ।
शुश्राव कुञ्जेषु यशः स्वमुच्चैरुद्गीयमानं वनदेवताभिः ॥

R. V. 2. 12.

"Dilipa heard the sylvan deities intone his fame from within the bowers at a high pitch, to the warbling accompaniment of the Aeolian flutes, (when he entered the forest)."

शब्दायन्ते मधुरमनिलैः कीचकाः पूर्यमाणाः
संरक्ताभिस्त्रिपुरविजयो गीयते किन्नरीभिः ।
निर्ह्रादस्ते मुरज इव चेत्कन्दरेषु ध्वनिः स्यात्
संगीतार्थो ननु पशुपतेस्तत्र भावी समग्रः ॥

M. S. 1. 57.

"As the Kinnari women sing Hara's victory melodiously, the Aeolian bamboos resonate delicious music; and if friend Cloud, you resound in the caves like a Muraja, then Siva's concert would be complete".

In all these verses the Kichaka—dry bamboo is said to play the role of the flute with this difference, that while the flute was played by the human breath, the bamboo was played by the breeze. Instead of taking the passages to mean that the wind whistled through the bamboo, even as it rustled through the leaves, I prefer to take the bamboo as the Aeolian flute—a wind instrument, fashioned by human hands, but played upon by the breeze. According to Dr. Kunst, it consisted of a length of bamboo usually placed high on a tree, having holes bored between its various knots. The wind playing through the holes, produced a very melodious sound that could be heard from a great distance. Dr. Kunst adds that this was illustrated in the 9th century sculptures of Barabadur adorning the Kalpaka trees; and alluded to in the 11th century poem 'Arjuna Vivaha' where it accompanies the blandishments of the celestial damsels when Arjuna is in meditation. The Aeolian flute has survived in Java to this day and is known as Sundari. It may be recalled that the magic harp Ghoshavati tempts a Gandharva to Udayana's service (in the guise of an elephant) and when Udayana loses the harp to a bamboo, the Aeolian harp and bamboo make a symphony of string and wind in high air, leading eventually to the discovery of the harp. What could be more appropriate than the elusive beauty of the 'harmonics' fashioned into a gossamer mantle for fairy spirits floating

down the air in graceful undulations, in the first act of Vikramorvasiya? Not only has Kalidasa given us fairies, but also a fairy music in which to clothe and present them on the stage, made up of misty tone-colours that melt and dissolve in the air. Kalidasa has, therefore, made music itself more musical, in introducing heavenly beings. Tones of such extraordinary delicacy, shaded by more delicate overtones, are yet to be met with in the bamboo chimes accompanying the Balinese shadow play, retaining at least in part the magic of the Aeolian tones.

Then came the Tympani—the drums that articulated a whole series of sounds—the pianissimo patter of raindrops on water, the melodious bubbling as water enters a narrow pot, the lapping sound of wavelets and the deep rumble of clouds. The name Pushkaram meant, air, water, cloud as well as a drum; and the early drums, were all pot drums. The term Marjana frequently used by Kalidasa, referred to the tuning of the drums according to the Grama. The Mayuri which to the peacocks sounded even as the rumble of clouds, had according to one commentator the right surface as Sa, the left as Ga and the top as Ma, with Ma as the chief note, which in the love context of Malavika's dance, was most appropriate there. From the definition it is inferable that the drums had three surfaces. The Panchamukha which I equate with the Bhandavadya which Bharata prescribes for the Angaharas of Siva, had its five surfaces tuned to the five notes of the Raga Nata, so that on this drum as on the Dhakka, there was an interplay of two impulses—the melodic represented by the notes and the rhythmic by the syllables modelled on air-water-cloud effects. The sound of drums had as unique a fascination for Kalidasa as that of clouds and they seem to him to be interchangeable.

Kalidasa describes another kind of water-music in canto 16 of Raghuvamsa. The Goddess of Ayodhya laments

आस्फालितं यत्प्रमदाकराग्रैर्मृदङ्गधीरध्वनिमन्वगच्छत् ।
वन्यैरिदानीं महिषैस्तदम्भः शृङ्गाहतं क्रोशति दीर्घिकाणाम् ॥

"When formerly struck by the palms of sportive women, the pleasure ponds emitted deep resonant drum tones, now emit a melancholy sound when struck by wild buffaloes."

And when Kusa re-establishes Ayodhya as his capital and re-initiates the water sports

तीरस्थलीबर्हिभिरुत्कलापैः प्रास्निग्धकेकैरभिनन्द्यमानम् ।
श्रोत्रेषु संमूर्च्छति रक्तमासां गीतानुगं वारिमृदङ्गवाद्यम् ॥

"The enchanting sound fills the ears; the sound of women singing and the water mridanga accompanying, which the peacocks on the banks hail with their outspread plumage".

Here is an extract from Dr. Kunst: "Chiblon is the rhythmic beating with the hand in different ways either with the crooked or flat of hand on and in the water, producing in this way a surprisingly good ensemble effect. The Chiblon has also given its name to a certain way of drum playing; thus the Chiblon afterwards became the name of one of the drum forms themselves."

The name Pushkara denoted the aquatic birds also; and to them were assigned the role of the Ghana vadya—the interpunctuating bells and jingles of the girdle and anklet. Travellers were said to mistake the sounds of the infatuated swans for the jingling golden girdle of their beloved; and in the cold season, it was said, the swan's music resided in the anklets of women. And in the pretty fable of the Rishi Mandakarni, Kalidasa following Valmiki combines all these various musical sounds—Aeolian flute, harp, wavelets, birds—in a convincing symphony in the pleasure pond named Panchapsaras, where continual strains of instrumental music and drum notes blended with the tinkling sound of ornaments, though there was no human agency at the place. And in a dramatic moment in the Sakuntalam, Kalidasa makes the cuckoo the mouthpiece of the sylvan deities, when Kanva seeks their permission for the heroine's departure. Kalidasa is partial to this feathered warbler, through whose blithe notes, Spring mocks woman's sweet words and whose measured notes at the season's beginning resemble the Mugdha's shy words. The background of nature in Kalidasa would provide materials for a separate thesis.

Then there were the songs that awakened the sleepers:

उषसि स गजयूथकर्णतालैः पटुपटहध्वनिभिर्विनीतनिद्रः ।
अरमत मधुराणि तत्र शृण्वन्विहगविकूजितबन्दिमङ्गलानि ॥

In the forest Dasaratha was awakened by the drum like flapping of the elephant's ears and the warbling of the birds. The Kalinga prince was awakened every morning by the deep

baritone of the sea. But the Kinnaras awaken Siva on his nuptial morning by a Raga called Kaisika. The ragas named Kaisikas were among the most beautiful and were specially set apart for the Ramayana, the musical exponents being known as Kaisikacharyas. The raga Mangalakaisika was possibly one of the ancient Kaisikas. But I am disposed to think that the Kaisika that awoke Siva early in the morning was of the type of Bauli. At the birth of Skanda, the celestial dancers interpret certain songs, which the lutes followed in the beautiful Mandra register[1]; may I suggest that the Ragas in question were of the Shadja Grama group with predominant Mandra Sanchara like Kuranji and Navaroz? Nor does Kalidasa forget the folksongs of the field-women, watching the Sali corn under shadow of sugarcanes recounting the deeds of Raghu from his youth[2]; nor the continuous fanfare of the instruments and drums during coronations; nor the victorious conch privileged to share Aja's lips with Indumati.

In early sculpture the bow-shaped harp and the lute shaped like the Sarode are the most common. The lute on lap is a favourite idea of Kalidasa: thus Indumati lay like a stringless lute on Aja's lap; Agnivarna's lap was never empty—it had either a lute or a sweetheart (वल्लकी च हृदयंगमस्वना वल्गु-वागपि वामलोचना); and his lute player though hurt in the thigh, continued to play as though unhurt. The term 'Ankyalingyordhvakah' in the verse referred to above has been taken by the lexicons to refer to three kinds of drums; but may I hazard the view that it was a lute of the Sarode type installed on thigh and held upwards and the playing hand held as though embracing it and its scroll reaching up to the shoulder region? The Yaksha's wife was so overwrought, that she was hardly able to tune the Murchana and when she did, found it hopelessly out of tune; this was also perhaps a kind of Sarode in which the substrings constituted the Murchana and had to be tuned afresh to suit the raga. Songs with Kakali are said to awaken Cupid and lovers even if asleep; the Kakali of Kambhoji does

1. ध्वनत्सु तूर्येषु सुमन्द्रमङ्क्यालिङ्गथोर्ध्वकेष्वप्सरसो रसेन ।
सुसंधिबन्धं ननृतुः सुवृत्तगीतानुगं भावरसानुविद्धम् ॥

2. इक्षुच्छायनिषादिन्यस्तस्य गोप्तुर्गुणोदयम् ।
आकुमारकथोद्घातं शालिगोप्यो जगुर्यशः ॥

it even now. Prof. Ranade reads a pun in the raga name Sarang in the Nati's song; if it was a Sarang, it could well have been Gauda Sarang. If Kalidasa meant a similar pun, he must have been familiar with Lalit which concludes the second canto of Ritusamhara. Among the raga names of the songs of Vikramorvasiya mentioned by the commentator, Gunakari is our Suddha Saveri employing Suddha Dha and Suddha Ri as in the gita of Purandara ; and Patamanjari is a raga resembling our Ritigaula.

Then there was a convention that divided ragas into masculine and feminine groups. Thus Madhyamavati was forceful, energetic; Sri dainty, feminine and graceful; Kedaragaula manly, Surati feminine; Kedara masculine; Kuranji feminine, etc. The Hindustani ragas also divide themselves into these basic types—masculine and feminine. For raudra, veera and adbhuta rasas, the manly ragas were considered appropriate; and for sringara, hasya and karuna rasas, the feminine ragas. For the entrance songs and exit songs of the male and female characters also these ragas would be found appropriate. Then there were ragas relating to the morning, midday, evening and night; and also those appropriate for the various seasons, spring, summer, etc. With all this rich material we could inform the drama with a new musical life in terms of the character, hour, season and rasa; and recapture the languid dawn in a Bauli; make bright morning music with Bilahari; project a starry night in the solemn nocturne of Malkaus; serenade a golden evening with Gaulipantu; and recapture fun and frolic with Hindolavasanta; and vernal splendour and the nuances of sringara with Vasanta. In the Sanskrit drama we have a type of play that lends itself to musical treatment; and in our music whether Hindustani or Carnatic, we have an art that could give the verse a new expression, atmosphere and life or if so intended to merely follow the inflections of the poetic text and translate it into a new medium. But for such a consummation—the marriage of poetry with music—the foremost impediment is our ignorance of that music brought about by concepts like the Melakarta and the superstitions—theoretical and practical—we labour under today. We should visualise and understand our Ragas as living entities with anatomies and souls of their own before we restore them to the drama. Till such a time, we have to put up with the anaemic and impoverished thing that passes for music and leave Kalidasa alone.

If on voices the ragas became impassioned with human emotion, on instruments they developed a new impersonal ethos that varied with the timbre and idiom of each instrument and voiced unearthly sorrows. If voice music was lyric poetry, vadya music was a kind of dramatic poetry that was set apart for the great divisions of the play—the Sandhis—in an art practice as old as Bharata by which a few select ragas adumbrated the mood of a whole act through poignant instrumentation, that stirred the listener to the depths of his being. It was some of these that the Pallava king Mahendravarma tried to perpetuate in the Swara notation of Kudumiyamalai. If a mutilated inscription could be relied upon, he probably staged Vikramorvasiya and was so impressed by the Sandhi instrumentation of Rudracharya that he had them etched on stone. To attempt to identify some of those ragas would be beyond the scope of this talk; but without doing so, may I point out, how expressive the departure of Sakuntala would be if Suddha Saveri (Gunakri) was played by instruments, giving vent to a cosmic pathos, through swaras, even as the Greek chorus attempted to do through words. Tranquillity, solemnity, majesty, tenderness, joy, beauty and every mood of nature could be recaptured on instruments and made to background the interplay of human emotions. How appropriate would Vasanta be for the prelude and Mangalakaisika for the beatific reunion of Sakuntala, on instruments? But all these are mere dreams of beauty and difficult of realisation under present day conditions.

II

DANCE

If there is an unconscious obtrusion of the sensuous and voluptuous in Kalidasa's delineations of women, it is the result of a spiritual—aesthetic intention, that had to express itself through the medium of the body, even as sense has to seek expression in sound. An ardent woman-worshipper, Kalidasa, never tires of posing women singly or in groups and in all their beauty and grace and in the exquisite attitudes and movements of Dance, not as creatures of the earth, but as the manifestations of a divine power. While Kalidasa's heroes are all human beings—Pururavas, Agnimitra, Dushyanta—his heroines are mostly celestial beings—Urvasi, Sakuntala, Indumati. The human heroes long for superhuman partners

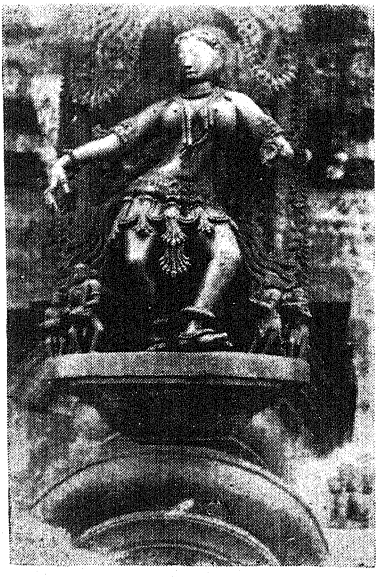
and having obtained them, invariably lose them as though they were too good for them and do not regain them till after a long travail or not at all. Though Malavika was a human princess, her beauty and gifts were, Kalidasa suggests, superhuman. If Lasya emanated from the limbs of Parvati, new poetic graces came into play, when Malavika repeated a prosaic dance lesson of her teacher, who felt abashed that his gifted pupil had reversed the role of the teacher and the taught. What an idyll the poet fashions round Malavika's shapely foot, from the point of view of the decorator and the decoration and the silent watcher, the king, at a touch of which the Asoka tree that had resisted the blandishments of Spring, thrilled into flowers. The queen with her auspicious decorations accompanied by the Parivrajika, appears to the king as though she were the three Vedas incarnate accompanied by Atmavidya. Sakuntala's beauty was neither of the earth nor of the human kind:

मानुषीषु कथं वा स्यादस्य रूपस्य सम्भवः ।
न प्रभातरलं ज्योतिः उदेति वसुधातलात् ॥

"How could any woman give birth to such a superb form? The tremulous beam of the lightning does not arise from the earth's surface". Again, when Sakuntata is afraid that the king may not reciprocate her love, the king exclaims

लभेत वा प्रार्थयिता न वा श्रियम्
श्रिया दुरापः कथमीप्सितो भवेत् ॥

"He who seeks may or may not find Sree; but could Sree seeking, fail to find?" The words Prarthana, Prarthayita, Aradhayita, etc., deliberately employed by the poet are ensouled with an ecstacy and adoration that break into the spiritual overtones of an erotic mysticism, culminating in the penitent ritual of prostration. Inferring from his name, one may deduce that though his devotion was shared by Siva and Vishnu, Kalidasa's intimate personal devotion was claimed by Sakti, the principle and embodiment of all beauty and mercy, reflected in his women characters, more seraphic than human and who therefore represented a higher and more refined type than man. Neither the courtly elegances of a sophisticated society nor the literary convention that exalted separation in love, would explain this personal creed of the poet. And the marriage finds fulfilment in the heroic and semi-divine children on whom Kalidasa loves to pause, little Bharata pouting at the



1

lioness, little Ayus bending the victorious bow, the six-year-old Sudarsana dangling his little foot from a throne much too large for him, the boy Vasumitra smashing the Huns and the little girls of Alaka at the usual sand-games, to gain whose hands the very gods lay in ambush (अमरप्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः।); something of the divinity of the child Krishna and Skanda cling to these children and bits of heaven do seem to lie about them.

Urvasi and Malavika were dancers and Sakuntala born of a dancer. In Vikramorvasiya, the poet portrays the origin of dance in heaven under the guidance of the sage Bharata and the descent of the art to the earth through Urvasi. Though we do not see the dances of Urvasi, we are allowed to see distorted reflections of them in the fourth act when the king addresses swan and stream, reproducing in his pathetic hallucination, the postures and movements of Urvasi's dance, the Nandyavarta, Ardhamattalli, etc., which could all be reconstructed. But it is in Malavikagnimitra that dance provides the *motif* for bringing together the hero and heroine under the pretext of a contest between two rival teachers, when Malavika delivers a covert love message, singing and interpreting through dance, a little masterpiece of a song and in a costume that more revealed than hid the shapeliness of her beauty and the lovely attitude of dance called Ayata[1], one hand on hip and the other relaxed creeperwise and chest raised gracefully. (See illustration I).

दुर्लभः प्रियस्तस्मिन् भव हृदय निराशं
अहह अपाङ्गको मे स्फुरति किमपि वामकः।
एष स चिरदृष्टः कथं पुनर्द्रष्टव्यो
नाथ मां पराधीनां त्वयि गणय सतृष्णाम्॥

"Your lover is difficult to obtain; so oh heart! give up all hopes of him. Lo! my left eye throbs for some reason! This lover was seen by you long ago. But how to see him again?

1. वामस्तालान्तरस्त्र्यस्रो दक्षिणश्चरणः समः।
प्रसन्नं वदनं वक्षः समुन्नतमनुन्नता॥
कटीनितम्बगो हस्तो दक्षिणोऽन्यो लताकरः।
यत्रायतं तदाख्यातं कमला चात्र देवता॥

Lord, consider me a helpless dependant, drawn towards you by love".

The poignant longing of a woman separated from her lover, clothes itself in the first foot of the song in a variety of shades of despondency ; and then brightens into moods of pleased surprise and joy-tinted hope of the second foot; and is followed by pensive recollection and doubt; and ends with the despair of the pathetic appeal. Malavika exteriorises this inner agitation by a wan face and listless head lowered to side, lips contracted in pain and a variety of glances tender and pathetic, pupils languid, lids weary and drooping, punctuated by sighs and tears, followed by slow-play of eyebrows and the flicker of a smile and opening eyes of wonder and sweet breath encouraged by the throbbing eye, passing on to the distant eyes of reverie and vacant ones of perplexity, ending in the unmitigated despair of the final appeal, gliding from one exquisite posture to another, feet stepping gently, wrists curling and uncurling like flowers as she gestures, all which complex ensemble of movements was called Abhinaya. When Malavika has finished and sets about departing, she is stopped by the clown; and as she stops in the attitude of dance, Ayata, eyes downcast, toe playingon ground, in semi or three-fourth profile, she presents an exquisite half vision of herself, which the king finds irresistibly beautiful, even as the digit of the moon is more captivating than the full moon.

Another subtle suggestion is that the king who is as intensely agitated as Malavika, covers it up in the presence of the queen, who half suspects his infatuation, by pretending to be a disinterested connoisseur of the sculpturesque in dance, as though the direct love message did not touch him. To relieve the immobility of the statuesque posture of Malavika, the clown cracks a joke at which Malavika's lips part in a fleeting smile, for the exclusive delight of the king. In her comment on the dance,

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः
पादन्यासो लयमनुगतः तन्मयत्वं रसेषु ।
शाखायोनिः मृदुरभिनयस्तद्विकल्पानुवृत्तौ

the Parivrajika hit off all great art when she said that Malavika replaced her own personality with that of Sarmishta as though she was possessed by her and was therefore able to infect the audience with her feelings. She also employs two technical terms, Sakha and Soochi. Sakha was a school of dance that employed certain stylised whole arm movements, as in the traditions of Indonesia. The Soochi was the expressive foreshadowing of unuttered thoughts by an expert dancer, through mere posture and expression, a suggestive fragment that hinted at the whole, a single mango blossom lurking in a corner of the landscape holding the promise of a whole season. The Parivrajika's statement

अङ्गैरन्तर्निहितवचनैः सूचितः सम्यगर्थः

is just the definition of Soochi. If the same technique is employed is recollecting or narrating events that had happened previously in an allusive manner or the whole episode portrayed through Abhinaya, it was called Ankura. Kalidasa is fond of word-play on these dance terms—Soochi, Ankura and Sakha—which we meet again in Sakuntalam, when Sakuntala pauses to beckon Anasuya—

अनसूये, अभिनवकुशसूच्या परिक्षतं मे चरणम् । कुरबकशाखापरिलग्नं च वल्कलम् ।

and bends down with a lovely turn and Soochi hands darting down as though to extract the thorn from a Soochi foot and stretches herself with a toss of arms as though to disentangle her garment from imaginary branches—the whole movement is a delicious bit of Soochi abhinaya eloquent of the state of her feelings to her lover, the king, through the whole arm movements of Sakha. This very Soochi becomes Ankura when the King recapitulates it:

दर्भाङ्कुरेण चरणः क्षत इत्यकाण्डे
तन्वी स्थिता कतिचिदेव पदानि गत्वा ।
आसीद्विवृत्तवदना च विमोचयन्ती
शाखासु वल्कलमसक्तमपि द्रुमाणाम् ॥

Kalidasa was thus not only a great poet, but also a great master of Dance and his plays are a floreation of the triple arts of Music, Dance and Poetry in dramatic form.

In understanding his mastery of the dance medium, we are fortunate in having the notes of Raghavabhatta—a scholar

well versed in the intricacies of dance; the notes though all too few, are exceedingly valuable for staging the great play. According to Raghavabhatta 'Prayoga' meant the fourfold abhinaya known as Angika, Vachika, Aharya and Sattvika, the interaction of which was Natya through which the poem was made visible. Of these the abhinaya of speech and delivery—Vachika—involving the rise and fall of voice, highpitched and tremulous or deep and low with appropriate inflections to suit the characters and a variety of rhythmic pauses, has survived in Bali and Java to a great extent, though forgotten here. How tellingly the toss of the curtain seconds Anasuya's impetuous words in Act IV that the king had let Sakuntala dowa sha nefully (Pravisya a patikshepena). But for data about the curtain, parasol, costume, masks and make-up, we have to resort to the oversea traditions mostly. Sattvika abhinaya referred to certain emotional tensions manifested through change of hue, change of tone, impediment in speech, —tears, horripilation, etc., utilised for portraying frustrated love either actually or through angikabhinaya. For the present we shall visualise certain actions of the play through the resources of Angikabhinaya, under the guidance of Raghavabhatta.

It is worth remembering that dance constitutes a spiritual world of its own, governed by laws of its own in contrast to the world of actuality; and is therefore able to retrieve idealistic plays like Kalidasa's from theatricality on the one hand and stage realism on the other. The illusion that dance creates is dependant on the aesthetic factors—rhythm and an elaborate dance language and the imaginative response of the audience who could follow both; and not because the representation was based on and resembled the actual. In the restricted floor-space of the stage, the dancer had to establish a palace or court or forest or fire sanctuary; and this he did by a convention called Kakshyavibhaga suggested in the first instance by the words or verse, supplemented by appropriate actions and glances and deviations on the ground through dance. For example the progress of Dushyanta's pursuit of the deer are suggested by the charioteer's verse 'Krishnasare' कृष्णसारे and the King's 'Grivabhangabhiramam' ग्रीवाभङ्गाभिरामं accompanied by their eyeing the deer a great way off; then the car movement is impeded by the uneven ground suggested again by the Suta's word 'Ayushman, Udghatini Bhumiriti etc.,' (आयुष्मन्, उद्घातिनी भूमिरिति) indicated by tightening of reins



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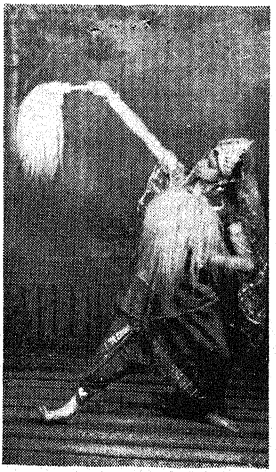


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and slowing of movement through dance, when the deer escapes again, followed by the glances of the hunters; then follow quicker movements suggested again by the verse 'Mukteshu rasmishu' (मुक्तेषु रश्मिषु) of the Suta and 'Yadaloke Sukshmam' (यदालोके सूक्ष्मं) of the king, in a mad pursuit till finally is produced the illusion of arriving at a point within shot of the prey, when the king aims an arrow in the Alidha posture and appropriate arm movement. The deer would be represented not by an actual deer but by a dancer wearing a deer mask, furtively peering and frisking and gambolling in fright in terms of the Harinapluta movement. A pair of Katakamuka hands crossed at wrist, relaxed or taut would indicate speed or slow motion of chariot; and if horse and chariot were not among the stage properties, they could well be portrayed by appropriate dance movements. A reference to the scene would reveal the minute data for abhinaya provided by the poet for the transition from the chase to the precincts of the Asrama—the last indicated by verse 'Nivarah Sukagarbhakotara'—(नीवारा: शुकगर्भककोटरमुख) all of which deserve the most careful study. The Oordhvajanu movement would suggest a hill or flight of stairs; by gazing into the air, could be suggested a Vimana or celestial being according to context. For these conventions also, the oversea traditions have plenty to teach us.

Contexts in Sakuntalam for which Raghavabhatta has given Natya directions.

Act I-(i) *Vrikshasechanam rupayati*—portrays watering of plants: Do the *Nalinipadmakosa* hands, take them to the shoulder region, do the *avadhuta* head, bending body gracefully a little, bring down the hands and release. That is, do a pair of *Sukatunda* hands, keep them crossed at wrist, fingers and palms facing down; lower them, body bending to suit and by a turn of the wrists, make them into a pair of upfacing *Padmakosa* hands; take them across breast to shoulder region, lowering head to side, and flexing body, bring the hands to knee region when releasing. (See illustrations 2—6).

(ii) *Bhramarabadham rupayati*—portrays annoyance by bee: by the *vidhuta* head and tremulous lips and quickly moving *Pataka* hands facing outward. That is, the head is turned quickly across in fright, lips quivering, and the *Pataka* gesture facing outward moving quickly hither and thither protecting the face and impeding the bee.

(iii) *Sringaralajjam rupayati*—portrays bashful love confusion: by the *Paravritta* head and *Lajjita* glance *i.e.*, face averted and turned back, eyelids lowered and pupils looking down and I would add an eyebrow raised. (This access of modesty occurs when Anasuya exclaims 'So we do have a protector').

Act III. The King's love distraction: by *Lolita* head, *Dola* hands and *Sunya* glance *i.e.*, by an agitated restless movement of head aimlessly shifting position, eyes vacantly staring, shoulders drooping, arms relaxed and dangling, the fingers of *Pataka* relaxed and loose. Another suggestion is the chin resting on back hand of a pair of interlocked *Karkataka* hands, for the melancholy reverie.

Act III. The king attempts to raise the face of Sakuntala which she evades. The king's action is portrayed by means of the *Tripatāka* gesture upfacing, brought under the chin, especially the forefinger and its neighbour; and Sakuntala's by averting head and face and folding lower lip in mouth.

Act IV. Decoration of Sakuntala: The ring-finger of *Tripataka* is employed to portray tears when kept near eye, to mark *tilaka* on forehead; and *Sandamsa* and *Bhramara* hands for decorating with garland and ear ornaments; and *Katakamukha* and *Hamsasya* for lac painting.

Act IV. A little doe clings to Sakuntala's garment, impeding her movement. This was to be portrayed by the *Urudvritta* movement: the foot with heel raised is planted behind the other foot, the body turning with flexion; this is only a semi-turn. When Sakuntala turns back to see, it is in terms of the *Apakranta* movement in which the feet cross each other as she pirouettes in a full turn and lifts foot and releases herself from position. (See illustrations 7—9).

Act IV. *Arala* and *Hamsasya* hands for plucking and gathering flowers.

Act VIII. Sanumati ascends by the *Bahyabhramari* and descends by the *Gangavatarana*. The first is a gyrating movement; there are three views as to how the second could be rendered: one was the curling of the leg behind like a scorpion's sting and *Tripataka* hands held down, breast protruding and head lowered; the other was the *Vishnukranta Karana* and *Tripataka* held over the uplifted

foot to denote Ganga flowing; the third was the acrobatic *Karana Gangavatarana* in the Chidambaram sculpture.

It is possible that in depicting aerial movements, devices of magical illusion were resorted to, also invisible pedestals, or steps, dim lighting, etc.

But the most consummate application of Kalidasa's knowledge of dance is in Act I in portraying the blossoming of love in Sakuntala attended by the interplay of all her natural and spontaneous graces—*Bhava, Hava,* etc.,—which dance had converted into its own special resource in *Sattvabhinaya*; an excess of these graces constituted Abhinaya's supreme merit and their absence made *Abhinaya* empty. Needless to state that all modern attempts at *Abhinaya* belong to the latter kind. It was with this *Sattvabhinaya* that Agnivarna was able to contest with and score over the dance-masters.[1] Centuries of rough and indiscriminate usage has emptied these beautiful terms of their rich and varied content and made them hackneyed and stale; and they are to-day thought of either as a vague amorous or amatory gesture or an indefinite label for an indefinite inventory and schedule of woman's charms. In reality they were the ripples and eddies awakened by the love emotion in the depths of a girl's consciousness, revealing themselves through ripples and eddies of eyebrows and eyes, and subtle changes of facial expression and movement, in a natural and spontaneous manner. As Kalidasa said elsewhere 'Strinamadyam pranayavachanam Vibhramo hi priyeshu', (स्त्रीणामाद्यं प्रणयवचनं विभ्रमो हि प्रियेषु) these were the primary expressions of a woman's soul. It was these that were thematically worked into a Lasya sequence to form a panorama of graces; it was these that Bharata seized as the supreme resources of *Abhinaya* and like a master jeweller fashioned the peerless crown for the dance art called *Sattvabhinaya* inlaying it as though with the glowing fire of the ruby, the shifting lustre of the diamond, the pearl's mellow sheen and the sapphire's sombre mystery. But not all the gems which Ujjain dispossessed the sea of, could match one of these natural graces of women.

1. अङ्गसत्त्ववचनाश्रयं मिथः स्त्रीषु नृत्यमुपधाय दर्शयन् ।
स प्रयोगनिपुणैः प्रयोक्तृभिः संजघर्ष सह मित्रसंनिधौ ॥

Let us remember that Sakuntala was a woman of extraordinary beauty; and therefore every little action of hers from a frown or knitted brow to a finger lifted in warning and contrary shake of head, would be pervaded by her beauty. Sakuntala is presented to us first as an innocent maiden—*Mugdha*—on the verge of youth, giving herself up to vague romantic yearnings and delicious reveries, as she gazes at the Vanajyotsna clinging to the Sahakara, every fibre of her body tingling at the magic of touch of Spring—it is the picture of a wistful, preoccupied, girlish beauty we see first. From this she is rudely disturbed by the pursuing bee and the emotion of fear throws her beauty into an entirely new focus, lips quivering, eyelids lowered, face averted and hands hastily impeding, picturising the grace *Chakitam* which forms the theme of the verse '*Chalapangam*' चलापाङ्गां. This is the second vision of her beauty. Then when the king intervenes, she is speechless with bashfulness and if she could talk at all, it could only have been some sweet incoherence; this is a composite picture in which up to a point her childlike artlessness is presented under an urge of modesty, suddenly giving way to an adult bashfulness—*Vihrita*—which remodels her posture and expression into one of sculpturesque immobility: but this very reticence adumbrates her inner love, whose arrival is quite near. Then as the king and the girls seat themselves and Sakuntala asks herself "How is it that at the sight of this person, I feel an emotion scarcely consistent with a grove devoted to piety?" we have the bodily manifestation of Bhava—just a faint suggestion of the intangible emotional disturbance, not clear, just arisen, like the sky brightening as the moon is about to rise; indicated by a puzzled facial expression of pleasure, with just a touch of a fleeting doubt. Under the influence of this newborn emotion—*Bhava*—her beauty appears to us in quite a new irradiation and setting. Then when Anasuya is curious as to who the stranger was and Sakuntala tells herself 'This Anasuya speaks your very thoughts, Oh Mind! be not uneasy' there is a slight revelation of the love emotion like the silver rim of the emerging moon and indicated by slow graceful modulations of eyebrows and furtive glances and turns of head and neck and mild horripillation; this *Hava* presents Sakuntala's beauty in a yet newer facet. And when Anasuya says 'We have indeed found a protector' the love emotion of Sakuntala is fully manifested by quicker rippling

movements of the eyelashes and a variety of love glances and play of head and neck, it is the grace *Hela* which contradicts her child nature and finds consummation in the *Sringaralajja*, bashful confusion of love, to portray which Raghavabhatta gave us a few tips. As these natural graces are called into play on the lineaments of Sakuntala aglow with love, she develops a new sheen (kanti) and lustre (dipti) and her natural movements develop new poetic graces, all without any conscious effort on her part and marvellously transfused by proximity to lover, articulating the soul's most intimate message, through the body's most exquisite language, for the lover's sole delight. And when she pretends to be angry and knits her brow and lifts a warning finger at Anasuya and would fain go away, yet tarries, it is an exquisite endearment in the guise of a slight, comprehended by the grace *Bibvoka* under the twin urges of *Vibhrama* and beauty-consciousness and revealing new facets of *Vilasa* as she steps and turns and moves. When she directs her ears to what Dushyanta says, in intense absorption and surrender, it was still another grace, *Mottayitam*; it was a continuation of this mood that earned her a dreamy ecstacy and Durvasa's curse. And the affected, agitated repulsion of a caress at the end of Act III was yet another delicate grace-*Kuttamitam* (sweet reluctance) with an added touch of flurry. All these lead to the consummate pretence of removing the thorn followed by a meaningful turn and sidelong glance, referred to as *Soochi* earlier. And in the king's retrospect of Sakuntala, (*Ankura*), he recalls her soft glances, leisurely movements, feigned angers, delicious evasions, fine reticences and fugitive smiles and like a miser at his hoard, lingers lovingly over every vision of her that his memory conjures up, with the interplay of all her airs and graces and unconscious glows and sheens and nuances of facial expression, the mere recollection of which throws him into an ecstatic absorption.

The supreme merit of Kalidasa is that he has caught and fixed forever, these fleeting and intangible graces as evanescent as a ripple, and fugitive as twilight tints as a great love budded and blossomed on the lineaments of Sakuntala; and has made us watch their interplay in flurry and shyness and agitation as her love unfolds and blossoms, against a background of peerless feminine beauty. In Sakuntalam Kalidasa has immortalised the feminine graces; and if he had not been

the master of dance that he was, he could not have spoken in the intimate accents of the soul's own language.

From these we pass on to the emotional prostration of Sakuntala relieved by the timely arrival of the king. In passing I would refer to an extra passage quoted by the *Sahitya Darpaza* as an example of love banter Sringarahasya (or *Narma*) not found in other texts of the play:

स शृङ्गारहास्येन यथा शाकुन्तले राजानं प्रति शकुन्तला—असन्तुष्टो (मधुकरः) पुनः किं करिष्यति । राजा-इदं । (कमलं) इति व्यवसितः (कृतनिश्चयः) शकुन्तलावक्त्रं ढौकते । (प्रविशति)

When the king likened himself to a bee and attempted to raise the face of Sakuntala, we saw that she repelled it. This would make us think that she was seriously angry and would have avoided the king if she could. But the passage quoted above is one of delicious playfulness. Sakuntala wants to know what the disappointed bee did; and the bee *i.e.* the king makes one more attempt to approach the lotus *i.e.* Sakuntala's face. It was at this point presumably that Anasuya and Priyamvada gave timely warning to the lovers about the approach of Gautami.

We may now glance back to the Nati's song about the youth-intoxicated maidens with Sirisha blossoms on their ears, at the beginning of the play. Kalidasa was probably alluding to the *Lasya* sequence[1] I had mentioned, in which the feminine grace *Hava* had been thematically worked in, in addition to the Sirisha flowers on ears. Installed at the beginning of the play, it was perhaps meant to indicate the importance of the beauty factors—Women, Music, Dance and the atmosphere of love, the so-called *Kaisiki Vritti* pervading this great play.

In discussing the dance-lore of Kalidasa, may be mentioned verse 38[2] of *Megha Sandesa* in which he refers to the tired temple dancers of Mahakala's shrine gracefully waving chamaras whose gemset handles scintillated and whose girdles

1. कर्णव्योर्हावबहुलं ललल्लोलावतंसयोः ।
विलम्बेनाविलम्बेन सूकं तल्पयचालनम् ॥

2. पादन्यासैः क्वणितरशनास्तत्र लीलावधूते
रत्नच्छायाखचितवलिभिश्चामरैः क्लान्तहस्ताः ।

jingled as they stepped in dance. In these ritual temple dances the various *Upacharas* had been worked in. Similar dances were being rehearsed in most of our temples within living memory. These were also known as Desi dances and had motives like the sword, lamp, garland, vina, fan, parasol, etc. (See illustrations 10—13). Indonesia yet remembers whole groups of these.

Before concluding may I refer to the doctrine of reminiscence which Kalidasa is never tired of proclaiming, especially in the verse 'ramyani' even as Wordsworth said:

Oft over my brain does that strong fancy roll
Which makes the present (while the flash doth last)
Seem a mere semblance of some unknown past
We lived ere yet this robe of flesh we wore.

Out of his spiritual intuition Kalidasa has flashed a beam from the realms of the sub-conscious to illumine those of the super-real. A poet of the senses that he is said to be, he has so intensified and refined the sensibilities of the senses, that we could now perceive and comprehend the ultimate through these finite media; and like his Pururavas and Dushyanta enter heaven with this very body, unlike Yayati and Trisanku who tumbled down for want of such a guide. For has he not pierced the veil with his flashes of music and poetry and dance, bringing within reach of mortal eyes and ears and minds, a beauty that is immortal?

And when he sees the lovely form of Krishna in a dusky, cloud bejewelled with rainbow and Vishnu's spanning foot in an oblique streak of it and his illimitable form in the vast expanse of the ocean, he speaks not a local language but an universal one, at least to those familiar with the symbols of his faith.

A NĀṬYĀCĀRYA FROM THE NAṬAMANDIRA OF THE SŪRYA TEMPLE, KONARKA (1238-64 A.D.)*

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

The temple of Sūrya at Konarka built by king Narasimha I (1238-64 A. D.) of the Ganga dynasty and situated 20 miles north east from Puri, has been justly claimed as "the grandest achievement of the eastern school of Architecture", constituting as it were, the quintessence of the Kalinga type of temple architecture. The Orissan devotional architecture with its humble beginnings in the rock-cut Jaina caves of Udayagiri and Khandagiri near Bhuvaneswar in the second century B.C. rolls on over 1500 years or so and culminates in the temple of Konarka which, though in utter ruins to-day and in a desolate corner amidst drifting sands, evokes our admiration. It is like a ripe fruit matured in breathless air. The cosmic significance of the monument, with every nook and corner richly decorated, seems to be that the worshipper or the visitor should be instructed ocularly in the whole doctrine of Hindu cosmology, mythology, iconography, the fine arts, the muses, in short, of every day life. The temple which consists of the Devī or Śrī Mandir or *Vimāna, Jagamohana, Naṭa-mandira* (Plate I) and a shrine for Māyā Devī is filled with sculptured panels which if placed end to end would extend for miles. The sculptures bespeak a luxurious experience and open out an encyclopaedia of edifying legends told with moving eloquence and in the plastic language of a singularly chaste and refined diction, elaborated with rich and exquisite imagery. Incidentally, these "speaking pictures" afford glimpses into the details of the life of the times. Humble dwellings, pompous palaces, court-scenes, assemblies of both the spiritual and the worldly-minded human beings, temples, conveyances, household articles and utensils, forest scenes, hunts, love-making both refined and otherwise, flora and fauna, everything in fact is here pictured in stone eloquently and in overwhelming profusion, yet with refined restraint. In contrast with the moving compositions of life in its variety, are the static images of a series of Sūryas, Dikpālas, Viṣṇu and semi-divine beings.

*Paper read at the All-India Music Conference, December, 1950, Calcutta.



Plate I



Plate II

Sahṛdayānanda or spectacular gratification which is the main purpose of the monuments is readily achieved by the sculptured galleries of the entire monument and in particular by the *Naṭa-mandira* which contains a series of dancing scenes in which dancing girls and dancing men bring into display elegant poses and musical instruments such as would make the *Naṭa-mandira* a living paradise. Even a casual visit to the *Naṭa-mandira* will bring before the visitors' mind a visual orchestra. Visitors, particularly those accustomed to western musical and orchestral performances, will look for the dancing-master who guides the performances. Is there one at the *Naṭa-mandira* of Konarka?

The answer is supplied by the sculpture of *a Nāṭyācārya* figured in this article (Plate II). The sculpture occupies a prominent place in the upper gallery of the *Naṭa-mandira* and, facing east as it does, greets the visitor who ascends from the east where the main gateway of the whole monument was originally located. In a niche 1' 9" x 9" stands with perfect equipoise a *Naṭa*, let us call him a *Nāṭyācārya*, the dancing-master of the show who guides the performances. Around him in various separate alcoves and niches are the various dancing girls and men in various dancing poses, mostly with some musical instrument or other. In contrast to the spirit of rhythmic motion around him the *Nāṭyācārya* stands almost erect (*samabhaṅga*) on a base formed by foliage. His hands hold a pair of cymbals (*tāla*) with silken ribbon fastenings for holding. The left hand is bent against his chest and the cymbal held in it is upturned, as it should be, to receive the beat of the other cymbal. The right hand which is in *Kaṭaka-mudrā* (a hand-pose suggesting holding), holds the other cymbal. Both the hands jointly suggest the zero-hour or the animated suspense which is to be followed the next moment by the actual beating of the cymbals to signal the commencement of the dance show. An under-garment with tassels and folds arranged in the *kaccha* fashion, a low and close-fitting turban on the head, big-sized *kuṇḍalas* in the ears superficially resembling *patra-kuṇḍalas* but actually designed as *makara-kuṇḍalas*, and a long necklace (*hāra*) elegantly poised and enclosing a circular medal on a powerful chest, add dignity to the person portrayed. The medal bespeaks his standing as that of an expert or leader or chief. As the purpose of the *Naṭa-mandira*

(dancing hall) is only to illustrate dancing, the person meant can be readily recognised as the dancing-master, the *Nāṭyācārya*. The medal and the big-sized *kuṇḍalas* suggest that they were perhaps presents in recognition of his superior skill and expert knowledge of the *Nāṭya-kalā*. The wrists are, however, free from any wristlets or chains of honour (*vīra-śṛṅkhalā*) and this can best be explained as due to the necessity to keep the hands free for both the volume and the velocity and quickness of the hand-movements and wrist-motions that the cymbal-player will soon bring to bear on the dancing show.

As though these details were not sufficient for us to recognise readily the importance of the *Nāṭyācārya* portrayed, the architect, who designed the *Naṭa-mandira*, labelled the figure of the *Nāṭyācārya* as well, for, what is it we discern below the *Nāṭyācārya's* legs, but an inscription in *Kaliṅga-Nāgari-lipi* of the 12th-13th centuries A.D., recording the name of the *Nāṭyācārya* under description as "सौम्य श्रीदत्त" *Saumya Śrīdatta*. His name is either "Saumyaśrīdatta" or "Śrīdatta", if we take "Saumya" as an honorific term meaning "good or auspicious". That *Nāṭyācāryas* occupied high and respectable place in ancient Indian society is well-known. Kālidāsa's Mālavikāgnimitra and the two dancing-masters, Gaṇadāsa and Haradatta who figure in it, afford sufficient documentation. Also the name "*Saumya Śrīdatta*" with its termination as "datta" irresistibly draws our attention to the name "Haradatta" of the Mālavikāgnimitra, with a similar termination (*datta*). Even as Haradatta was a *Nāṭyācārya*, our Saumya Śrīdatta was in all probability a *Nāṭyācārya*. Is the termination "datta" just accidental, a coincidence or does it denote a class of society, may be of artists including music and dance-masters, in the same way as definite orders or classes of society are suggested by the terminations, *Śarma, Varma, Gupta, Dāsa*, etc? We may not be altogether wrong if we surmise on the parallel of Kālidāsa's Haradatta who received royal patronage for his skill in dancing, that our "Saumya Śrīdatta" was an equally meritorious *Nāṭyācārya* probably patronised by the Ganga King Narasimha I, who built the Konarka temple. Both have earned niches in the temple of fame, the *Nāṭyācārya* has a literal niche of fame in the very *Naṭa-mandira* with his name inscribed below in stone (but actually in *gold letters* in the history of Art), while King Narasimha I, has earned in addition a place in the hearts of all

Sahṛdayas as an accomplished Royal Artist and intrepid Architect.

That no other sculpture is inscribed either in the *Naṭa-mandira* or in any other part of the temple, goes to prove that the sculpture in question has been singled out for special treatment and attention in view of the importance and standing of the person portrayed, *viz.*, the *Nāṭyācārya*, Saumya Śrīdatta, against the background and environment of his own creation and activity, the *Naṭa-mandira*.

The erection of the *Naṭa-mandira* in front of the *Jagamohana* of the Konarka temple, the embellishment of every inch of space in it with dancing damsels, dancing men, musicians and other orchestral paraphernalia, and lastly the enshrining of the *Nāṭyācārya* in a niche with especial care on recording his name below his portrait for a grateful posterity to appreciate—all these prove beyond doubt that our ancients of Mediaeval India (of the 13th century A.D. when the Konarka temple was built) believed like the still earlier ancients of Kālidāsa's times and like lovers of Art of all times that *Nāṭya* was the sole *Kalā* that could entertain one and all:

Nāṭyam bhinnarucer-janasya
bahudhāp-yekam samārādhakam ||

DANCING DEVĪ FROM KANYĀKUMĀRĪ (13TH CENTURY A. D.)*

BY

T. N. RAMACHANDRAN

The dances of Śiva, popularly known as *Naṭarāja* or *Naṭeśa*, are as interesting as they are varied, and examples of every type of his dance are known from South India. It is true that South India has yielded the largest number, particularly in metal (bronze), but examples, mostly in stone also hail from other parts of India such as Badami, Ellora, Aihole, Pattadakal, Bhuvanesvar, Gwalior and Rajshahi and Dacca in Bengal. The various classes of *Tāṇḍava* or "virile male dance" or "violent dance" described in *Śaivite* works and *Āgamas* appear to have grown out of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra* which describes the dances of Śiva. Bharata has 108 poses of *Tāṇḍava* while the Śaiva *Āgamas* associate Śiva with 64 in 64 different shrines.

Tāṇḍava is to be distinguished from '*Lāsya*'. *Tāṇḍava* is associated with Śiva and is so called because the various dance poses, which were as many as 108, were observed and classified by Taṇḍu, Śiva's attendant. These poses form the subject-matter of Bharata's *Nāṭya Śāstra*, chapter IV, and luckily the eastern and western Gopurams of the famous Naṭarāja Temple at Chidambaram, South India, contain a large number of Bharata's verses incised below carvings which the verses appear to describe. The dances of Śiva fall mainly under seven groups, *viz.*, (1) *Ānanda Tāṇḍava*, (2) *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava*, (3) *Gaurī Tāṇḍava* (also called *Umā Tāṇḍava*), (4) *Tripura Tāṇḍava*, (5) *Kālī Tāṇḍava* (also called *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava*), (6) *Mauni Tāṇḍava* and (7) *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava*. The most popular form of Śiva's dance which occurs in sculpture and bronze is the *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* form of Naṭarāja in Chidambaram. The *Ānanda Tāṇḍava* of Naṭarāja is also called *Sadā Tāṇḍava* as it is in eternal progress on the wheel of cosmic process. And *Śaiva* literature tells us that Pārvatī or Umā or Gaurī was witnessing it, thereby giving it another attractive name *Gaurī Tāṇḍava*.

* Paper read at the All-India Music Conference, December 1950, Calcutta.

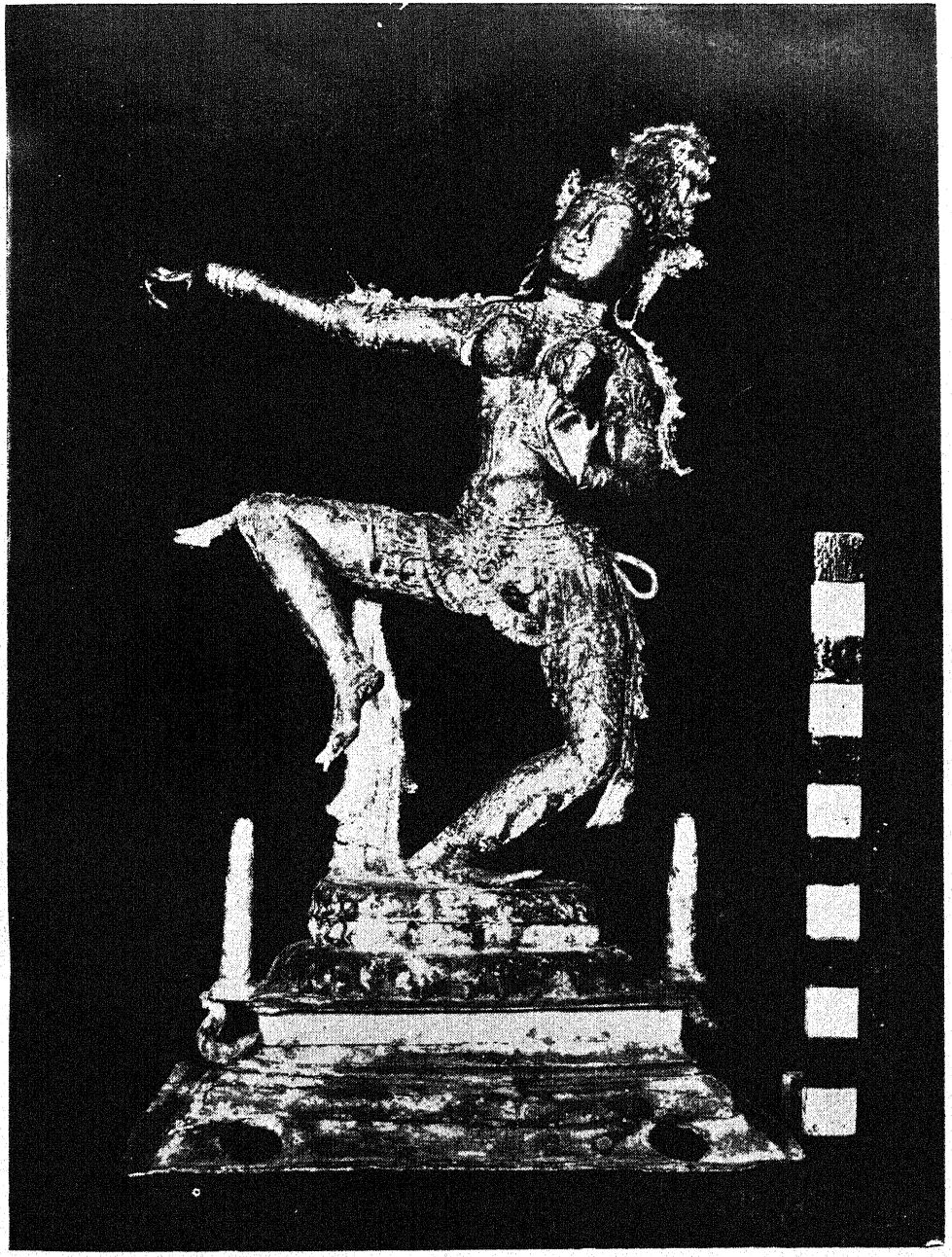


Plate I

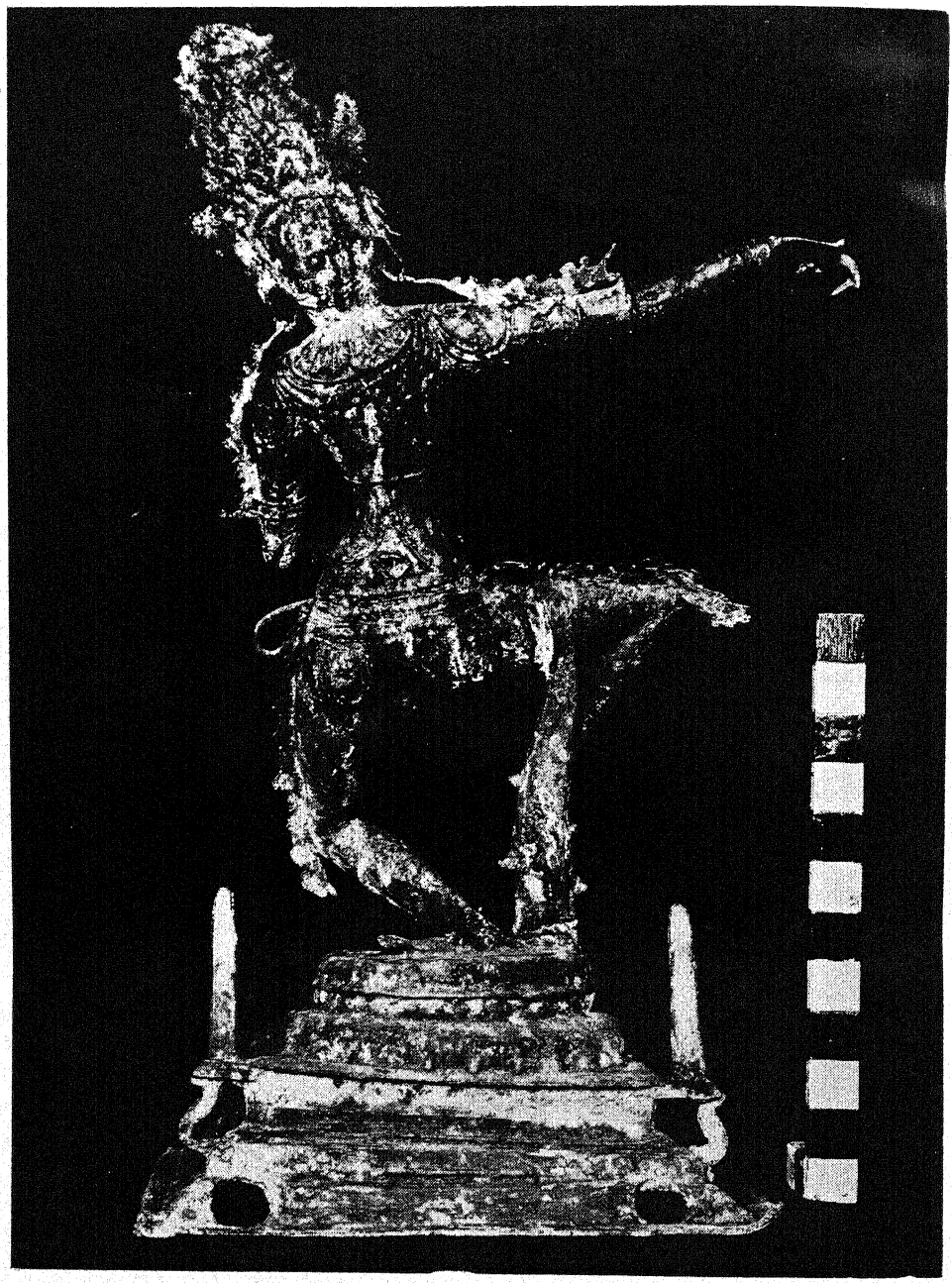


Plate II

Tāṇḍava is thus a 'violent or virile male dance', promulgated hy Śiva while *Lāsya* is "graceful female dance" promulgated by Pārvatī. As Śiva is said to have performed all his dances in the twilight of the evening, his dances are termed *Sandhyā Tāṇḍava* which includes a special pose called *Ūrdhva-Jānu* with the right knee up. The Śaiva *Āgamas* describe elaborately the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* in which *Śiva* vanquishes *Kālī* in a dance contest with her. Tiruvelangadu near Madras is said to be the centre for this type of dance in which the right leg is raised right upto the head. Śiva is said to have defeated Kālī by this trick and Kālī, being a woman, could not emulate him out of modesty. Another explanation is that by raising his leg right upto his head Śiva restored to his ear an ornament that had slipped during the special dance which, being terrible, is also termed as *Caṇḍa Tāṇḍava*. As Kālī participated in it it is also called *Kālī Tāṇḍava*. The "Vaṭāraṇya Māhātmya" according to Dr. V. Raghavan describes the *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* which Śiva performed at Tiruvelangadu as the same as *Saṁhāra Tāṇḍava*, the dance of destruction; but, according to Bharata's Nāṭya Śāstra, the same scholar points out, this *Ūrdhva Tāṇḍava* corresponds to the Karaṇa *Lalāṭatilaka*.

No example of the *Lāsya* or 'graceful female dance' is known from South India until now except the *Satī-dance* in association with Śiva occurring in a bas-relief in the temple of Pattadakkal, Dt. Bijapur. Examples of Pārvatī or Gaurī or Umā standing by the side of Naṭarāja and witnessing the dance are known from Ellora, Bhuvanesvar, Kanchipuram, Dharassuram and Bengal. The Bronze specimen illustrated in this article (Plate I) will therefore be welcomed by all lovers of Art and of South Indian Bronzes in particular. As *Gaurī-Tāṇḍava* and *Umā Tāṇḍava* relate to the special dances of Śiva described above, not of Pārvatī, the specimen will have to be identified as representing *"Lāsya"* or "graceful dance" which Pārvatī performs bringing into display what is called the *Ūrdhva-Jānu* pose, with the right leg raised and bent at the knee. The hands are free to swing as Pārvatī would please. The swinging right hand is held in *Gaja-hasta* pose simulating the extended trunk of an elephant. The left hand is in *Kaṭaka-mudrā* (the *mudrā* which suggests holding) and Pārvatī is here actually holding a lotus by its stalk.

The image hails from somewhere near Kanyākumārī (Cape Comorin), the southernmost point of South India. It

has suffered heavy incrustation (salt) such as contiguity to the seashore would suggest. Some of the decorative features rather unusual for typical South Indian bronzes of the Chola period are claw-like fingers (Pl. I), long festoon-like *kuṇḍalas* made of foliage hanging from the ears (Pl. II), a long necklace (*hāra*) extending far below the breasts and supporting three pendants, the central one looking like a dagger (Pl. I), the peculiar form of the lotus flower held in the left hand, flanking tassellated knots in loops and hanging brocaded ends of the under-garment (pl. II) and lastly the very copper casting of the image with claw-like features that the hands and feet present. These present some points of resemblance with the important find of South Indian bronzes in Polonnaruwa of Ceylon. Cape Kanyākumārī being only within a few miles' distance of Polonnaruwa (Ceylon), it will be easy to discern points of resemblance between the dancing Pārvatī under description and the Polonnaruwa bronzes, particularly Pārvatī, Naṭarāja and Sūrya of the Polonnaruwa Group (Vincent Smith, *History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, Plates 95(*b*), 95, 107 (*a*—*b*), 108(*b*), 109(*b*). As history has recorded emphatically the Chola occupation of Polonnaruwa, the association of the image with the Polonnaruwa bronzes is readily recognisable. The *Śiva Devales* of Polonnaruwa which yielded the bronzes appear to have an earlier date as 1012 A.D. (Rājendra Chola I) and a later date as 1215 A. D. But stylistically there are some among these Polonnaruwa images which are more comparable to those of the subsequent Vijayanagar period of the mainland. As I have proved elsewhere (*vide*, T. N. Ramachandran, *South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum*, page 46) this suggests that the builders of the temples at Polonnaruwa put all their available resources into the buildings and that in each case a considerable interval may have elapsed before any metal images were installed in them. No conclusive evidence as to the latest possible date for the latest of the Polonnaruwa images seems, however, to be available. Thus in all probability the image under description may be ascribed to the very latest phases of Chola activity, *viz.*, 13th century A. D.

Justice A. N. Sen of the Calcutta Bench is the lucky owner of this rare bronze which measures 1'9" high and would welcome its inspection by all lovers of Art at his home (4, Hungerford Street, Calcutta—16).

BOOK REVIEWS

ASPECTS OF ADVAITA by Prof. P. N. Srinivasachari, M.A., Retired Professor of Philosophy, Madras. Sri Krishna Series No. 8. 1949. pp. 20+112. Price Rs. 3.

Professor P. N. Srinivasachari is one of the living exponents of Indian philosophy in the South, particularly of the system of Ramanuja. He is also a careful and thorough student of other schools of Vedanta like Sri Sankara's absolute monism and Bhaskara's Bhedābheda. The present work is the result of his historical and comparative studies of various systems of Indian philosophy. It has four chapters besides an Introduction which emphasises the importance of Advaita as a system of philosophy on the basis of the integral unity of the Advaitic pramāṇas of *sruti* (revelation), *yukti* (reason) and *anubhava* (intuition). It also explains the different aspects of Advaita which the learned author chooses to call *pure Advaita, pure practical Advaita* and *practical Advaita,* the detailed elucidation of which is found in the first three chapters of this work. Though these three aspects of Advaita vary in their starting points, the final is the same, viz., the identity or oneness of *Jīva* and *Īśvara* as implied in the *mahāvākya* "Tat tvam asi".

Pure Advaita is described as a critical enquiry into the nature of the self by the psychological and logical study of pure consciousness as absolute truth. Practical Advaita accepts *śāstra* as the ultimate authority for Advaita, recognises degrees of Truth and Reality (satya) and expounds the progression of consciousness from the moral level of *Vyavahāra-satya* and finally to *jñāna,* the true level of *Paramārtha-satya.* In between the two systems comes Pure Practical Advaita which utilises *śāstra* and reasoning. The different expositions of Pure Advaita such as Gauḍapāda's in his Māṇḍūkyakārikās, stress the idealistic view of experience and as such are said to have a close affinity with *Vijñānavāda* and *Śūnyavāda* of Buddhism. It is often remarked that Gauḍapāda follows the negative logic of Buddhism. Śaṅkara who follows the Upaniṣads and the Vedānta-sūtras rejects all the schools of Buddhism as mutually contradictory. The distinction between Buddhism and Advaita lies in the important fact that one

denies completely the phenomenal reality and refers to nirvāṇa *negatively* while the other stresses *positive* reality and refers to *brahma-nirvāṇa*. The need for supplementing subject philosophy is supplied by Pure Practical Advaita which therefore marks the transition from the logical and psychological side. It deals with the relation between *Brahman* and *Māyā*, and *Īśvara* and *Jīva* and such other important questions like *adhyāsa* and *mukti*. It also deals with the theories of *illusion, limitation* and *phenomenon*. *Practical Advaita* is not in favour of idealism and relationism implied in Pure Advaita. It insists on the need for the realistic ethico-religious approach of Advaita. It accepts the compromise between the esoteric and the exoteric —*parāvidyā* and *aparāvidyā*—, and the various stages of *mukti*—*kramamukti* and *jīvanmukti*. The book ends with an important observation on the need of spirituality and service which every work on Indian philosophy emphasizes and it is quoted fully here for the advantage of the readers. "It fits in with the twin religious truths of spirituality and service and the innate hospitality of the Gītā as the essence of the Upaniṣads. The wisdom of the Upaniṣads is a Philosophy of Religion which satisfies the three pramāṇas in their integrity, equates the absolute of metaphysics with the God of religion, recognises the value of all the four yogas and the unity of the contemplative and the active and the aesthetic ideals of truth, goodness and beauty, and points to mukti as the direct realisation of Brahman in the transcendental and immanent aspects of Brahmānubhava and Brahmanisation of all jīvas in the twin aspects of spirituality and service."

The work deals briefly with all important topics connected with Advaita and is bound to be a valuable guide not only to students of Advaita but to all who are interested in a comparative and analytical study of other systems of Vedānta also. The learned author deserves our thanks for having published this handy volume which is the result of his long experience as a Professor and original writer in Indian Philosophy.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI.

LITERARY CRITICISM IN SANSKRIT AND ENGLISH. By Prof. D. S. Sarma. The Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, Mylapore, Madras. Re. 1.

When a literature has given the best of it to mankind, certainly criticism also should have grown with it. It is there-

fore not a matter for surprise that in Sanskrit literary criticism has existed, and that too the best of its kind. But what could not have been anticipated by the present-day intellectuals, who have had a course of study in Western literary criticism alone, is the fact that valuable thought both upon the approach and method of assessing literary works has already been bestowed by our ancients. Indeed, it must seem even a kind of inferiority-complex to some, at any rate, that the adequacy of the function of literary criticism in Sanskrit should be sought to be made out by its comparing favourably with literary criticism in the West.

Nevertheless, the service that Prof. D. S. Sarma has done to us in providing in the brief span of a paper, read at the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute of Research, his mature considerations of Literary Criticism in Sanskrit is not altogether untimed. On the other hand, his stressing the point how literary criticism in Sanskrit "at its best, was never dogmatic, and the popular view that our Alankara Sastra, as its name unfortunately suggests, gives only some rules on the use of the figures of speech is quite wrong" has to be further driven home into the so-called *litterateurs* of today, who begin to deride the ancient culture as having very little to contribute to modern thought.

Now turning to the paper itself, Prof. Sarma in his characteristically analytic manner has reduced to five main headings the happy comparison between the conclusions of the English Romantic School and those of the Dhvani School in Sanskrit and set down his commendably brief opinions under each head in the succeeding pages. Necessarily Anandavardhana, the arch-priest of literary criticism, and his equally celebrated commentator Abhinavagupta have been drawn upon to prove Rasa-dhvani as underlying all literary excellences, thereby liberating immortal spirits imprisoned in the finite for a moment at least, and making them taste of the Ananda of being one with the Infinite. One may notice here, Prof. Sarma has perhaps merely touched upon the originality of Anandavardhana in having worked out an elaborate thesis on the Dhvani theory. But one who deeply studies Dhvanyaloka would be prompted to say that in his inviolable arguments towards establishing Rasa-dhvani as what essentially makes poetry or literature ever abiding in human hearts, he resembles out and out Sankara, the philosopher, who makes out his

case for the grand concept of the one and indivisible soul in all life.

It is hardly necessary to dwell at length on all the aspects of Prof. Sarma's important contribution. Suffice it to say that in undertaking the task he has not only succinctly presented his views but also taken care not to omit anything of significance in the short compass of his endeavour. Perhaps, Prof. Sarma, if only he had the time or space for it, could have shown further the great synthesis of all arts in this country in the matter of self-expression. Otherwise the author of the Nāṭya Śāstra, as Bharata is reputed to be, need not have been depended upon as the prime source of arts and poetry by every one of the later poets and writers.

In conclusion it may be useful to remember some of Prof. Sarma's sentences as marking the correct line of envisagement of any great literature. The following are samples of his profundity in a discussion of the true understanding of literature:

(1) "A poet is not a photographer but a painter. Even in the most realistic compositions we find there is a good deal of omission compared with actual life".

(2) "In a good drama we prefer expectation to surprise. Surprises and accidents are the stock-in-trade of the melodrama—the illegitimate brother of the true drama".

(3) "In a word, life gives us facts, literature reveals to us their values".

(4) "Indeed, in all the great dramas of the world the situations are highly improbable. Their improbability is the price which the dramatist pays for their heightened emotional effects".

(5) "One has also to acquire considerable experience of the world through some kind of active life and try to correlate the beauty and harmony experienced in literature with the beauty and the harmony (or the lack of it) experienced in the world".

K. C.

Psychological Studies in Rasa. By Dr. Rākeśa Gupta, M.A., Ph.D., Assistant Professor in Hindi, Benaras Hindu University. Published by Mr. S. Taravali Gupta, C/o B. Lakshmi Narayan Agrawal, Mansing Gate, Aligarh (India), pp. 180, Rs. 5.

The present work is a doctoral thesis, wherein an attempt has been made to study and interpret, in the light of modern psychology, the subject of Rasa. The author, for his purpose, has chosen to consider Rasa in two aspects, in the two sections of his book: (1) Rasa as Relish and (2) Rasa as emotion. As Rasa, in its first aspect, means Relish of poetry, the question that naturally arises is 'What is poetry?' After examination of fifty definitions of poetry given by both the Eastern and Western critics, the writer concludes that none of the definitions of poetry leads to the understanding of poetry except for the information about the personal views of the framers. He has then offered his own definition of poetry with full knowledge of its defects and limitations. '*That which is relished or taken interest in, as poetry is poetry*'.

The next problem that the writer deals with is the perception and relish of poetry. (Rasa-Nishpatti and Rasasvāda). Here, also, he examines, with disapproval, all the theories that the Sanskrit and Western critics of note have advanced; and comes forward with his new view that 'the secret of the Relish of poetry consists in our *interest to perceive it*'. This new theory, the writer thinks, marks a clear advance over what he calls the Hedonistic theories which emphasize pleasure as the end of poetry and labour under the supposition that we undertake to do only pleasing things. The author, next, proceeds to consider the component feelings of poetic Relish which, as he classifies them, are sympathetic, antipathetic, recollectional, reflectional, critical and those pertaining to curiosity. His complaint against the Sanskrit writers is that they had a narrow view about these feelings and therefore, they recognized only the sympathetic type of them. This led to an equal narrowness, on their part, in considering the elements that determined the poetic relish. The author's broader conception of these elements consists of eight entities (detailed out on page 93).

In considering Rasa as emotion, the writer has, on the threshold, given an idea of the terms—feeling, emotion and sentiments—according to their accepted meaning in modern psychology, and has then examined the Sanskrit terms Bhāva. Sanchāri Bhāva and Sthāyi-Bhāva in that light. His findings in this respect, are that these Bhāvas are neither emotions nor sentiments but are simply the mental affections forming the

psychic sides of the emotions and that Rasa is essentially an emotion. With respect to the difference between the Sthāyi and Sanchāri Bhāvas as conceived by Bharata and Abhinavagupta, the author emphatically states that it is groundless and unreal. He is equally sceptic about Rasābhāsa, Bhāvābhāsa and things of this type. Rasa-Doshas as mentioned by our critics, also, suffer from errors of judgment and inaccurate thinking.

These are, in short, the contents of the book. In the valuation of his own research (given on page 5) the author says that the present thesis is an advancement in the study of Rasa.

The author has 'severely' criticized Sanskrit writers (and if I may say so, gloats over his performance) even without correctly representing their views in some places. He may or may not be mindful of this when he says, with commendable frankness, that it is his turn now to be criticized. I join with the author in thinking that true criticism is necessary for any real advancement of knowledge. Therefore, I now proceed to make a few observations on the positions taken by him.

(1) The author has needlessly entered into a lengthy discussion, covering 27 pages, on the definition of poetry. Consistent with his purpose, he should have only considered the emotional element. Even after his mighty attempts, the author gives us his definition that is practically useless and logically faulty. Because, in the first instance, it leaves too much scope for personal bias, in the absence of an objective standard; and in the second instance, the author has to use the the very word in defining it! Before I know what poetry is, how can I 'relish or take interest' in a composition 'as poetry'? It is, however, useful to him because, therein, he talks of 'poetic interest' instead of 'poetic pleasure'; for the author believes that it is neither pleasure nor enjoyment which attracts us towards poetry.

(2) The author has elaborated his own theory on poetic relish with the phrase 'poetic interest' instead of 'poetic pleasure' just to avoid, get over or explain away the knotty problem of the unpleasant, ugly, horrible and the like being relishable in the perception of poetry. To this, I have to say that the pleasure-theory, if properly understood, is not wrong and that the author's new theory takes us nowhere. We ought, first, to bear constantly in mind, whenever we talk of poetic experience, that it is purely an aesthetic activity and

that rules of general psychology should be applied with great caution in its explanation. It is common knowledge that we indulge in all aesthetic activities with a clear anticipation of pleasure, satisfaction or enjoyableness resulting from their experience. The aesthetic experience is, on the whole, always pleasurable, satisfying and enjoyable. But to rank the rather peculiar and unusual pleasure of aesthetic experience with the pleasure meant in the Benthamian doctrine of Hedonism is a grave misrepresentation of both.

In the pleasure of the aesthetic attitude we turn away from the useful, personal and the concrete towards the fanciful, the impersonal and the abstract. The abstract, far removed, non-practical and impersonal meanings in this experience call forth mental activities like memory, judgment, imagination or rather the total unified being and are characterized by breadth, distance, and largeness; and even the ugly and unpleasant pale off and acquire aesthetic quality. The pleasurable feeling involved in the aesthetic representation of Sita's suffering by Kalidasa, is due to the reflective attitude called forth, which unfolds the stern Reality and the inexorable destiny of man, to a heightened feeling of reverence for her virtues, to the perception of the artistic beauties of form and content of the composition and lastly to the richness and unusualness of the experience in general. Here the suffering of Sita is shifted from the focus to the margin of the consciousness of the Rasika.

Even, supposing, for a moment, that such and the like explanations of the nature of the pleasure, are not satisfactory, the reader may ask, 'what advance is marked, in this respect, by the new theory of the author?' The only apparent merit of the author's theory of 'Interest' is that he seems to state, like the authors of Nāṭya Darpaṇa, that the poetic experience is a mixture of pain and pleasure. But when he tries to show that the reader 'relishes' such an experience beeause of his 'interest' ('Interest' and 'relish' are synonymous with the author. p. 81) he entangles himself in the very difficulties of his opponents! His 'interest' must mean either a feeling of sympathy or active concern or a feeling of passive curiosity almost amounting to indifference. If it means sympathy the reader must experience pain and cannot relish scenes of suffering.If it means passive curiosity or indifference he would not be sufficiently interested in poetry at all. In his attempt to com-

bine the desire to cling to a phenomenon of pain and the feeling of 'relish' (which means nothing but enjoyment, pleasure or satisfaction) derived from the experience, he has invented the phrase 'feeling painfully interested' which must mean 'feeling painful pleasure or relish'! But I question the very sense in which he has used the psychological term 'interest'. Interest, in its psychological sense, 'being conative, is a matter of the enduring settings of our conative tendencies or impulses and is, therefore, determined by our instincts and our sentiments' (Outline p. 276). If interest is, thus, determined by sentiments, the problem of pain and pleasure in the 'interest' again crops up. For, then, our 'interest' in a person for whom we have developed a sentiment of love must make us feel pain in his misery and pleasure in his happiness. We can't remain either only passively curious or indifferent to either of them. If the author sees the possibility of a person 'feeling painfully interested and relished' ('for he voluntarily invites this pain because his nature is such'—p. 77) why should he deny the same to the upholders of the pleasure-theory in aesthetic experience? Then again even if the reader voluntarily invites pain because of his 'interest', how is that going to solve the problem of a reader suffering from palpitation of heart? Would his 'interest' save him from the shock of reading grim tragedies? (p. 80). The fact of the matter is that even the upholders of the pleasure-theory, do not and can not deny the existence of the element of pain and ugliness, etc., in a work of art and consequently in its effects. Their only contention is that the unpleasant element is either submerged or neutralized in the totality of the aesthetic experience and the final result is an impression of pleasure or sense of satisfaction. The author is, also, trying to make an adjustment between pain and pleasure without using the last word. But he has to use the word 'Relish'. But what is relish? It is, as we have seen, enjoyment, taking pleasure or being pleased. Thus the new theory takes us nowhere.

(3) Regarding some of the other important issues raised by the author:—

(i) His criticism on Abhinavagupta, more particularly, is, in the main, groundless. Let me make it clear that I also, like the author, have no faith in the mysteriousness of the phenomenon of poetic Relish, but I do hold that it should not be interpreted on the sheer strength of general psychology

alone, which is useful for daily life-problems of practical utility, but, mainly, on the strength of Aesthetics which is a special field of psychology. I am afraid, the author in his enthusiasm of basing the poetic Relish on his own observations, has depended too much on general psychology and has reduced his 'relish' to a very low common level of experience. And as a result, he has consulted the experience of even untrained village-boys; but is inclined to call in question the qualifications of an ideal aesthetic attitude of a trained Rasika as given by Abhinavagupta. What I mean is that there are grades in the capacity of aesthetic appreciation and Abhinava has referred to the highest of them as his ideal. That is not his fault.

(ii) About his severe attack on the theory of Sādhāraṇī-karaṇa I have to say that ancient Sanskrit authors are not to be understood and interpreted literally but in spirit. Looking to the spirit of the theory, it is real, sound on the whole, and perfectly psychological. It is based on the principle of the sympathetic induction of emotions advocated by McDougall on the instinctual level in his 'Group-mind' and by Prof. P. S. Naidu, on the Sentimental level, also, in his 'Hormic Theory' (p. 65-68). Abhinava admits both these levels in his Vāsanā-Samvāda and Hṛdaya-Samvāda respectively. Primitive passive sympathy, which is the basis of the formation and development of group-life or society, is the liability to be stirred to that kind of instinctive behaviour whose signs are displayed by other members of the same species. Subjectively it involves the sharing of the emotional excitements that accompany instinctive behaviour. The secret of the induction of the same emotion, therefore, is the expression of the emotion (or Anubhāvas) of the fellow member of the same species. The released energy arouses the 'idea' of the object which is the natural excitant of that emotion. Now, in the case of a love-scene between Dushyanta and Śakuntalā, Śakuntalā (for whom Dushyanta has a sentiment of love) is only useful to me in order to arouse in me the 'idea' of the class or type of similar women for whom I have developed a sentiment of love. The particular object of my sentiment of love would not suit. Because, in that case the pleasure would be personal and no aesthetic attitude would develop. The idea of the types or classes of similar women would secure this impersonality. Now, I have very little to do with Śakuntalā as an individual,

her surrounding, her love, and her particular behaviour. Of course, I will catch her individual traits of character and her other details or surroundings that ultimately make her the representative of a type of women. The need of Sādhāraṇī-karaṇa is greater when, on the strength of human appeal alone, a reader highly or lowly placed, living in a different country and in different times has got to relish a piece of poem depicting details of persons and situations entirely alien and dissimilar in outer details.

By the word Samvid-Carvanā, Abhinava allows the reader to dwell on or revolve in his mind his generalized emotional experience arising out of his own concrete general sentiments. By Samvid-viśrānti he means the calmness which is the result of mental equipoise, balance, synthesis or synasthesis.

(iii) A word about the conception of the author of the psychological nature of the Sthāyin and its relation with the Sanchāri Bhāvas. The Sthāyin is located in the mind of the Rasika or it remains related with the perceiver. In him it is evoked by the reading of poetry and develops into final Rasa leading to aesthetic enjoyment par excellence (Alaukika Rasa)—(see D. R. 4. 1, S. D. 3. 1, etc.); the Sanskrit writers believe that Sanchāribhāvas and Anubhāvas remain related with the depicted characters. They have not stated in clear terms, that the depicted characters, also, have their sthāyins (although some of them are conscious of this fact) because they saw that the pātra-cittavṛtti (by which they mean the pātra-sthāyin) was not the source of real Rasa. Hence it was only Laukika Rasa, as it was personal. Sometimes, also, the pātra-cittavṛtti did not at all correspond to the Sthāyin of the Rasika (as in Hāsya Rasa, where the weeping of a character evokes the laughter of the Rasika). Sometimes the citta-vṛtti of the character corresponds to the sthāyin of the Rasika as in śṛṅgāra and vīra. Therefore, they have taken the correct position of neglecting the mention of the sthāyin in a character (although it is there.) The Rasika has his own evocation of his sthāyin according to the attitude of the poet. (Abhinava rightly says—*Kavistu Sāmājika-tulyaḥ*). As we read a poem we are sympathetic towards some characters and apathetic towards some others according to the depiction of the poet. The Rasika has acquired through individual experience his own sentiments of love, fear, hatred, friendship, self-regard, laughter, wonder, etc.. which are always in a quiescent condition.

They are awakened or brought into activity by the idea of the object which they get from the Anubhāvas of the characters according to the principle of the sympathetic induction of sentiments or emotions as the case may be. Rāvaṇa, for us, is a type of a cruel person and his behaviour may rouse in us an idea of a class or type of such persons for whom we have formed a general sentiment of hatred. It is a mistake on the part of the author to suppose that our old writers have recognized only the sympathetic class of feelings. (p. 83 and 91). The recollectional feelings are taken account of in the carvanā of a sthāyin and the reflectional ones in Śānta Rasa mainly. All the feelings that the author mentions are meant, if not clearly stated, in the totality of the Rasāsvāda.

It is not possible to meet in a review all the arguments of the author point by point in his attitude towards the sthāyi and the sanchāri bhavas. Here I only state my conclusions, (the grounds for which I have discussed in my Marathi work on Rasa *Rasa-Vimarsh* (1942), in my English articles in B.O.R. Institute Annals (4-1-1943) and Karmarkar Commemoration Vol. 1948). The sthāyins are sentiments (with one or two exceptions like śoka) with an instinctual base (the Prāktanī Vāsanās). They are acquired (Idānīntanī vāsanā of Viśvanātha) within the experience of the Rasika. When they are evoked they give rise to their specific emotions. At least seven of the sancāri bhāvas are of the nature of the Derived Emotions of Mcdougall. The rest are either organic states, congnitive mental conditions or blended emotions, all of which, as the author also remarks, are 'subsidiaries to the emotional experiences'. Their one common characteristic, however, is that they arise in the course of the operation of the sthāyins as they imply the existence of sentiments. (Outline p. 345, social p. 117). If understood in his spirit, Abhinava is right in making the kind of distinction he has made between these two. The attack of the author on this (chapter IV) appears to me to be groundless, in the main.

There are many other points on which we do not agree. The author has not considered Rasa in relation to Dhvani, Aucitya, Alankāra, Guṇa etc., which consideration would have thrown greater light on the conception of the old Rasa-theory.

Let us first try to understand very clearly the recondite Sanskrit texts, like the Abhinavabhārati in their traditional setting. For this first-hand knowledge, we shall have, all of

us, to sit at the feet of Sanskrit scholars. We shall, then, know that it is not so very easy to differ from such prodigies as Abhinavagupta, the great philosopher-critic and an aesthetician of his times. I do hold that there are bound to be points of serious disagreement between the new psychological outlook of the present day and the old philosophical or traditional way of looking at the working of the human mind in aesthetic experience. But that should not keep us from a sympathetic understanding of their views. Nay, our admiration for their genius ought to grow deeper by our realisation of their limitations. Whatever deficiencies we find in the old views should, nevertheless, be critically pointed out and, if possible, made good in the light of our knowledge of the modern literary psychology or aesthetics and the principles of Western criticism. Before we give out to the English-knowing world our final views on the Rasa theory, we ought to come together for an exchange of views in order to have some degree of finality at least for them. Mere isolated attempts, though useful in their own ways, would involve duplication of work, waste of labour and the expression of ill-formed or unripe ideas about the subject. I take this opportunity to request scholars, working in this field, in different provinces in India, to put themselves in communication with one another for a hearty co-operation in the new work of re-orientation of this important branch of Indian lore, the common stock-in-trade of all regional languages.

K. N. Watwe.
Poona.

Les Inscriptions D'Asoka by Jules Bloch, Pp. 219, Société D' Edition Les Belles Lettres, Paris, 1950.

Professor Jules Bloch has earned the gratitude of all students of ancient Indian history and culture by his very handy edition of the inscriptions of Asoka, published recently. He has himself explained the scope and aim of the work in these words: "A new scholarly edition of the inscriptions of Asoka is not necessary at the moment. Informed workers find all the useful documentation and the most satisfying interpretation possible in Hultzsch. The discoveries at Gavimath and Yerraguḍi have not added any new elements of importance. On the other hand a handy tutorial edition may enable students of language to consult and criticise with ease the

works of specialists, and at the same time give to the historians access to an important document while warning them of the obscurities that persist. Such is the double object of this work". But even the work of recapitulation and summarising of high-grade research becomes an original work in the hands of a master like Prof. Bloch.

A brief general introduction (pages 13-42) is in five compact sections, entitled, the heritage of Asoka, Asoka of legend, the inscriptions, the content of the inscriptions, and conclusion. In these luminous pages the student will find a succinct and up-to-date account of the topics dealt with. Then follows a magistral linguistic introduction (pages 43 to 88) of the high quality of which the name of the author is sufficient guarantee. The text of the inscriptions occupies pages 90 to 172. The romanised text in its different versions is given on the right hand pages and the translation in French on the opposite left hand pages. There are a large number of notes commenting on the linguistic features giving also the necessary minimum of historical and critical information besides drawing attention to unsettled problems of interpretation. There is a copious word index, pages 173-216 and a map at the end. The only regret of the present reviewer is that an English edition of this excellent manual has not been published at the same time to make it accessible to scholars who do not read French.

K. A. NILAKANTA SASTRI.

ENTREIENS DU MAITRE DE DHYANA CHEN HOUEI DU HO-TSO (668-760) by Jacques Gernet. L'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient, Hanoi.

Those who are interested in the school of Yogic Buddhism that developed in the Far East will find this book to be of special interest as it deals with the subjects, Sat, Cit, Dhyāna, etc. Chen Houei was a great philosopher of the Yoga School that flourished in Indo-China. The contents of the book are in the form of conversations between the master and his disciples. They have been well translated by the author.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

INITIATION A l' HISTOIRE DE l' ART HINDOU by Suzanne Karpeles. D'Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, 1948-49.

The book contains six lectures on Indian Art in general. The author with her wide knowledge of Indian art reviews its development from the days of Mohenjo-daro to the period of Abanindranath Tagore. Her reference to the influence of the Indian art on the art of the Far East, especially on Indo-Chinese Art, is of special interest for us. The book contains a bibliography which will be of help to the students of Indian art in its various phases.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

EDUCATION SPECIAL NUMBER. Chief of the Bureau of Cultural Affairs, 1, Rue Garcerie, Saigon.

This is the annual report of the Director of the Public Instruction of French Indo-China for the year 1949. It deals with all forms of Education and Educational Institutes in that country, their work, and improvement during the year 1949. Even a cursory glance through the contents shows that the French authorities of Indo-China are doing better in the field of Education compared to other colonial powers.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

LA DOCTRINE CLASSIQUE DE LA MEDICINE INDIENNE—SES ORIGINES ET SES PARALLELES GRECS, Jean Filliozat. Imprimerie Nationale (39, Rue de la Convention), Paris XV. 1949.

In this book the learned author has very admirably traced the origin of Ayurveda from its legendary beginnings to the peak of its development in India and has drawn a comparative picture of ideas of ancient India on this subject with those of the Greeks and their respective influences on each other. What strikes the reader is the clarity of the exposition and the depth of the knowledge of the author on the subject.

His chapters on the pre-Aryan and pre-Iranian people's gift to the medical science in the days of yore is of great value to the students of anthropology.

The book needs to be translated into English and the regional languages of this country so as to enable the students of Ayurveda to read it as a history of Indian medicine. The book fills a long standing gap in the study of a department of of the culture of the country.

AMALENDU GOSWAMI.

பல்வேறு கவர்பொரு ணுட்டத் தானும்
குறையுறற் கெதிரிய கிழவனே மறையுறப்
பெருமையிற் பெயர்ப்பினு மூலகுரைத் தொழிப்பினும்
அருமையி னகற்சியு மவளறி வுறுத்துப்
பின்வா[1] வென்றலும் பேதைமை யூட்டலும்
முன்னுறு புணர்ச்சி முறைநிறுத் துரைத்தலும்
அஞ்சியச் சுறுத்தலு முரைத்துழிக் கூட்டமொடு
எஞ்சாது கிளத்த விருதான்கு கிளவியும்
வந்த கிழவனே மாயஞ் செப்பிப்
பொறுத்த காரணங் குறித்த காலையும்
புணர்ந்தபின் னவன்வயின் வணங்குற் கண்ணும்
குறைந்தவட் படரினு மறைந்தவ ளருகத்
தன்னெடு மவளொடு[2] முன்னமுன் றோழிப்
பின்னிலை நிகழும் பல்வேறு மருங்கினும்
கன்னயம் பெற்றுழி கயம்புரி யிடத்தினும்
எண்ணரும் பன்னகை கண்ணிய வகையினும்
புணர்ச்சி வேண்டினும் வேண்டாப் பிரிவினும்
வேளாண் பெருகெதி வேண்டிய விடத்தினும்[3]
புணர்ந்துழி யுணர்ந்த வறிமடச் சிறப்பினும்
ஓம்படைக் கிளவிப் பாங்கின் கண்ணும்
செங்கடு மொழியாற் சிதைவுடைத் தாயினும்
என்புநெகப் பிரிந்தோள் வழிச்சென்று கடைஇ
அன்புகலை யடுத்த வன்புறைக் கண்ணும்
ஆற்றது தீமை யறிவுறு கலக்கமும்
காப்பின் கடுமை கையற வரினும்
களனும் பொழுதும் வரைநிலை விலக்கிக
காதன் மிகுதி யுளப்படப் பிறவும்
காடு மூரு மில்லுங் குடியும்
பிறப்புஞ் சிறப்பு மிறப்ப நோக்கி
அவன்வயிற் றோன்றிய கிளவியொடு தொகைஇ
அனைநிலை வகையான் வரைதல் வேண்டினும்
ஐயச் செய்கை தாய்க்கெதிர் மறுத்துப்
பொய்யென மாற்றி மெய்வழிக் கொடுப்பினும்
அவள்[4] விலங் குறினுங் களம்பெறக் காட்டினும்
பிறன்வரை வாயினு மவன்வரைவு மறுப்பினும்
முன்னிலை யறனெனப் படுதலென் றிருவகைப்
புரைதீர் கிளவி தாயிடைப் புகுப்பினும்

1. வா (இளம்.); வரவு (நச்)
2. முன்னமுன் (இளம்.); முதன் மூன்று (நச்.)
3. இடத்தினும் (இளம்.); இடத்தும் (நச்.)
4. அவள் (இளம்.); அவன் (நச்.)

வரைவுடன்[1] பட்டோர்க் கடாவல் வேண்டினும்
ஆங்கதன் றன்மையின் வன்புறை யுளப்படப்
பாங்குற வந்த காலெட்டு வகையினும்[2]
தாங்கருஞ் சிறப்பிற் றோழி மேன.

Nāṟṟam un tōṟṟam-u m-oḻukkam-u m-uṇṭi-y-um
Cey-viṉai maṟaippiṉum celaviṉum ṗayilviṉum
Puṇarcci y-etirppā ṭ-ulḻuṟuttu varūum
Uṇarcci y-ēliṉ-u m-uṇarnta ṗiṉṟai
Meyyiṉ-um poyyiṉ-um vaḻi-nilai piḻaiyātū
Pal-vēṟu kavar-ṗoṟu ṉāṭṭat tāṉ-ṯm
Kuṟaiyuṟaṟ k-etiriya kiḻavaṇai maṟai-y-uṟa-ṗ
Penumaiyiṟ peyarppiṉu m-ulak urait t-oḻippiṉum
Arumaiyi ṉ-akaṟciyu m-avaḻ-aṟi v-uṟuttu-p
Piṉ-vā v-eṉṟalum-pētaimai y-ūṭṭal-um
Muṉ-ṉ-uṟu ṗuṇarcci muṟai-niṟut t-uraittalum
Añci-y-ac c-uṟuttalu m-uraitturi-k kūṭṭamoṭū
Eñcātu kiḻanta v-iru-ṉāṉku kiḻavi-y-um
Vaṇta kiḻavaṇai māyañ cep̄pi-ṗ
Poṟutta kāraṇaṅ kuṟitta kālai-y-um
Puṇarnta-ṗiṉ n-avaṉ-vayiṉ vaṇaṅkaṟ kaṇṇum
Kuṟaintavaṭ paṭariṉu maṟaint-ava ḷ-aruka-t
Taṉṉoṭu m-avaḻoṭu[2] muṉṉa-muṉ ṟ-aḷaii-p
Piṉ-ṉilai nikaḻum pal-vēṟu maruṅkiṉum
Naṉṉayam perruḷi nayam-ṗuṟi y-iṭattiṉum
Eṉ-ṉ-arum paṉṉakai-kaṇṇiya vakaiyiṉ-um
Puṇarcci vēṇṭiṉum vēṇṭāṗ piriviṉ-um
Vēḷāṇ peru-neṟi vēṇṭiya v-iṭattiṉ-um
Ṗuṇarnturi y-uṇarnta v-aṟimaṭa-c ciṟaṗpiṉ-um
Ōmpaṭaṟ-k kiḻavi-p ṗāṅkiṉ kaṇṇum
Ceṅ-kaṭu moḻiyāṟ citaiv-uṭaṟ-t-tāyiṉum
Enpu-nekka-p piṟiṇtōḷ vaḻi-c ceṉṟu kaṭaii
Aṉṉutalai y-aṭutta vaṉpuṟai-k kaṇṇum
Āṟṟatu tīmai y-aṟiv-uṟu kalakkam-um
Kāṗṗiṉ kiṭumai kai-y-a ṟa variṉum
Kaḷaṉ-um poḷuḷum varai-nilai vilakki-k
Kātaṉ mikutiy-uḷaṗpaṭa-ṗ piṟa-v-um
Nāṭu m-ūru m-il-l-uṅ kuḻi-y-um

1. பட்டோர் (இளம்.); பட்டோன் (நச்.)
2. வகையினும் (இளம்.); வகையும் (நச்.)

Piṟappuñ ciṟappu m-iṟappa nōkki
Avaṉ-vayiṟ ṟōṉṟiya kiḷaviyoṭu toḳaii
Aṉai-niloi vaḳaiyāṉ varaital vēṇṭiṉum
Aiya-c ceyḳai tāyḳk-etir maṟuttu-ṗ
Poy-y-eṉa māṟṟi mey-vaḷi-k koṭuppiṉum
Avaḷ[1]*-vīḷaṅ k-uṟiṉuṅ kaḷam-peṟa-k kāṭṭiṉum*
Piṟaṉ-varai v-āyiṉu m-avaṉ-varaivu maṟuppiṉum
Muṉṉilai y-aṟaṉ eṉa-ṗ paṭutal-eṉ ṟ-iruvaḳai-ṗ
Puraï-tīr kiḷavī tāyiṭai-ṗ puḳuppiṉum
Varaïv-uṭaṉ[2] *paṭṭōr-k kaṭāval vēṇṭiṉum*
Āṅk-ataṉ ṟaṉmaiyiṉ vaṉpuṟai y-uḷappaṭa-ṗ
Pāṅkuṟa vanta nāḷ-eṭṭu vaḳaiyiṉum[3]
Tāṅk-aṟuñ ciṟappiṉ ṟōḷi mēṉa.

The lady-love's friend has her fine sayings on the following thirty-two occasions after she decides that the lady-love had conjugal union with the lover through the seven things scent, appearance, behaviour, food, forgetting what she should do, walk and action:—(1) When she, without exceeding the limits of her position, probes into the lady's heart through ambiguous expressions both true and false, (2) when she, pretending ignorance, evades the lover through her expressions of the lady's greatness on his approaching her to state his grievances, (3) when she dismisses him advising him to abide by the ways of the world (*i.e.* to request the lady's father for her hand), (4) when she makes him return on saying that it is not easy to see the lady, (5) when she asks him go to her after informing the lady of his arrival, (6) when she convinces him of the lady's credulousness, when she asks him to arrange for meeting her in the same away as he arranged for the previous meeting, (7) when she informs him of her fear (that she would be taken to task by her relatives), (8) when they meet on her information (about the time, place, manner etc., of their meeting), (9) when she, pretending ignorance of the lover's arrival, makes him understand how the lady bore patiently his absence or when she noted the patience of the lady, on his coming with false excuses, (10) when she makes obeisance to him after their meeting, (11) when she approaches the lady with her misgivings, (12) when she addresses the lady in diverse ways when she stands hidden from the view of the lover making the intention of both the lady and herself

understood through suggestion[1] (13) when she informs the lover of the lady's gratifying words (14) when she informs the lover of his becoming the laughing stock in diverse ways (15) when the lover wants union with the lady, (16) when he wants to go away, (17) when she expects help from the lover, (18) when she gracefully loses her discrimination when they are together and tells the lover to look after the lady, (19) when she affirms the love of the lover by approaching the lady who is skin and bone on being disheartened by the displeasing words of the lover[2] (20-25) when she requests the lover to propose for the marriage, considering their anxiety due to the unsafety of the way, the strict watch, the failure to meet at the proper place and time, growth of the love etc., and with reference to the greatness of his country, village, habitation, family, heredity, nobility and influence, (26) when she removes the doubt from the mind of the lady's mother and make her confide in her words, (27-30) when she addresses the foster mother that the meeting of the lover and the lady-love is in accordance with Dharma while the lady is kept under restraint[3], while the mother seeks the help of the diviner and the priest in possession of Skanda, while the parents propose to give the lady in marriage to another and while they do not accede to the proposal of the lover, (31) when she informs the lover of the consent of the lady's parents (for the marriage) and (32) when she asserts the same to the lady.

What are the occasions for the foster-mother to have her say?

113. களவல ராயினுங் காமமேற் படுப்பினும்[4]
அளவுமிகத் தோன்றினுக் தலைப்பெய்து காணினும்
கட்டினுங் கழங்கினு வெறியென விருவரும்

1. For the reading *Mutaṉ-mūṉṟu alaiyi*, *Iḷampūraṇar* gives the meaning "having considered through mind, word and deed" and *Naccinārkkiniyar*, having made them understand through suggestion that she was aware of the three stages commencing with *iyaṟkai-p-puṇarcci*.

2. Naccinārkkiniyar means "when the lady is disheartened at her harsh words and when she affirms the love of the lover while she is much emaciated.

3. According to *Naccinārkkiniyar*, the meaning is when the over brings in obstacles for the marriage.

4. மேற்படுப்பினும் (இளம்.); மெய்ப்படுப்பினும் (கச்.)

ஒட்டிய திறத்தாற் செய்திக் கண்ணும்
ஆடிய சென்றழி யழிவுதலை வரினும்
காதல் கைம்மிகக் கனவி னாற்றலும்
தோழியை வினவலும்[1] தெய்வம் வாழ்த்தலும்
போக்குட னறிந்தபிற் றேழியொடு கெழீஇக்
கற்பி னுக்கத்து நிற்றற் கண்ணும்
பிரிவி னெச்சத்து மகணெஞ்சு வலிப்பினும்
இருபாற் குடிப்பொரு ளியல்பின் கண்ணும்
இன்ன வகையிற் பதின் மூன்று கிளவியொடு
அன்னவை பிறவுஞ் செவிலி மேன.

Kaḷa vala r-āyiṉuṅ kāmamēr̲ paṭuppiṉum
Aḷavu-mika-t tōn̲r̲iṉun talai-p-peytu kāṇiṉum
Kaṭṭiṉuṅ kaḷaṅkiṉum ver̲i-y-eṉa v-iruvarum
Oṭṭiya tir̲attār̲ ceyti -k kaṇṇum
Āṭiya cen̲r̲uḷi y-aḷivu talai variṉum
Kātal kai-m-mika-k kaṇavi ṉ-arar̲r̲alum
Tōḷiyai viṉaval-un teyvam vāḻttal-um
Pōkkuṭa ṉ-ar̲iṉtapir̲ r̲ōḷiyoṭu keḷīi-k
Kar̲pi ṉ-ākkattu nir̲r̲ar̲ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pir̲ivi ṉ-eccattu makaṇeñcu vaḷippiṉum
Iru-pār̲ kuṭi-p-poru ḷ-iyalpiṉ kaṇṇum
Iṉṉa vakaiyir̲ paṭiṉ-mūn̲r̲u kiḷaviyoṭu
Aṉṉavai pir̲avuñ cevili mēṉa.

The foster-mother has her say on the following thirteen occasions and more; when she questions the lady's friend (1) on the *kaḷavu* becoming the object of common talk, (2) on the lady's love exceeding the bounds[2] (3) on the lady's limbs (like breasts) having a greater growth, (4) on seeing the lover and the lady together, (5-7) on seeing the attitude of the lady when both the mother and foster-mother take recourse to divination with *kaṭṭu*, *kaḷañci* and *ver̲i-yāṭṭu* (8) on the lady becoming unnerved when there is *ver̲i-yāṭṭu* (9) on the lady prattling in dream on account of the mind being steeped in love, (10) when she prays to God (11) when she, on learning that the lady has gone with the lover, appreciates the sense of chastity of the lady along with her friend (12) when she sees the strength of

1. வினதலும் (இளம்.); வினவலும் (கச்.)

2. Since the meaning of *kāmam mey-p paṭuppiṉum*, the reading of *Naccin̲ārkkiṉiyar*, is expressed by aḷavu mika t tōn̲r̲iṉum, *Iḷampūraṇar's* reading is better.

mind of the lady when she was left alone by the lover[1] (13) when she compares the heredity of both the lover and the love.

Has the lady's mother occasions for her say?

114. தாய்க்கும் வரையா ருணர்வுடம் படினே.
Tāykkum varaiyā r-uṇarvuṭam paṭiṉ-ē

They permit the sayings noted in the previous *sūtra* to the lady's mother also, if she feels in the same way as the foster-mother.

Note 1.—This *sūtra* suggests that the lady's mother does not have as many opportunities as the foster-mother to watch the lady and hence she may be ignorant of many things with reference to the lady.

What do the mother and the foster-mother do after they are aware of the lady's deep love towards the lover?

115. கிழவோ னறியா வறிவின ளிவளென
மையறு சிறப்பி னுயர்ந்தோர் பாங்கின்
ஐயக் கிளவி யறிதலு முரித்தே.
Kiḻavō ṉ-aṟiyā v-aṟiviṉa ḷ-iva̱ḷ-eṉa
Mai-y-aṟu ciṟappi ṉ-uyarntōr pāṅkiṉ
Aiya-k kiḻavi y-aṟital-u m-uritt-ē

The mother and the foster-mother deserve to understand (the real nature) from the ambiguous saying of the great men with unsullied magnanimity *'kiḻavōṉ aṟiyā aṟiviṉaḷ ivaḷ'* which means "this lady completely knows the nature of the lover and this lady does not know the nature of the lover."

Note 1.—The words *aṟiyā* may be taken in the senses of *aṟintu* and *aṟiyāta.*

Note 2.—The meaning given above belongs to *Iḷampūraṇar. Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is this:—Both the mother and the foster-mother clear their doubt whether the lady loved the lover who is not worthy of it from the sayings of the great.

Note 3.—*Cevili* and *tāy* are taken from the previous *sūtras* and form the subject of *aṟital.*

Does the lady express her love to the lover openly?

1. The line 10 is taken by *Naccinārkkiniyar* to express two things:—when the foster-mother does not go after the lover and the lady-love and when the lady-love is so strong in mind as to follow the lover. There are two defects here:—(1) the number *thirteen* be comes *fourteen* and the latter part is unnecessary since line 8 says the lady's going away with the lover.

116. தன்னுறு வேட்கை கிழவன்முற் கிளத்தல்
எண்ணுங் காலைக் கிழத்திக் கில்லைப்
பிறநீர் மாக்களி னறிய வாயிடைப்
பெய்க்கீர் போலு முணர்விற் றென்ப.
Taṉ-ṉ-uṟu vēṭkai kiḻavaṉ-muṉ kiḻattal
Eṇṇuṅ kālai-k kiḻattik k-illai-p
Piṟa-nīr mākkaḷi ṉ-aṟiya v-ā-y-iṭai-p
Pey-n-nīr ṗōlu m-uṇarviṟ ṟ-eṉpa.

They say that, on examination, the lady-love does not express openly her love in the presence of the lover like low-class women and it is understood like the water that oozes out of the unburnt pot of mud.

Note 1.—The expression *kiḻavaṉ-muṉ* suggests that the lady may express her love openly to the friend and *kiḻattikkū* suggests that the friend may express the same openly to the lover.

Is there need in all cases for the intervention of the lover's friend and the lady's friend to bring about their union?

117. காமக் கூட்டத் தனிமையிற் பொலிதலின்
தாமே தூதவ ராகலு முரித்தே.
Kāma-k kūṭṭan taṉimäiyiṟ ṗolitäliṉ
Tām-ē tūtuva r-ākal-u m-uritt-ē.

Since union out of reciprocal love is *par excellence*, it is possible for both the lover and the love to serve as the carriers of message between themselves.

Who is to suggest the place of their second meeting?

118. அவன்வரம் பிறத்த லறத்தனக் கின்மையின்
களஞ்சுட்டுக் கிளவி கிழவிய தாகும்
தான்செலற் குரியவழி யாக லான.
Avaṉ-varam p-iṟatta l-aṟaṉ-taṉak k-iṉmaiyiṉ
Kaḷañ-cuṭṭu-k kiḻavi kiḻaviya t-ākum
Tāṉ-celaṟ k-uriyavaḻi y-ākū-lāṉ-a.

Since it is not *dharma* for the lady to go against the wishes of the lover, it is her duty to suggest the place of their meeting since she alone knows where it is possible for her to go.

Who else can suggest it?

119. தோழியின் முடியு மிடனுமா ருண்டே.
Tōliyiṉ muṭiyu m-iṭaṉ-um-ā r-uṇṭ-ē.

There are cases where the lady's friend also suggests the place of meeting.

120. முன்னா ளல்லது தூணையின்று கழியாது
அன்னா ளகத்து மதுவரை யின்றே.

Mu-n-nā ḷ-allatu tuṇai-y-iṉṟu kaḻiyātu
A-n-nā ḷ-akattu m-atu-varai y-iṉṟ-ē.

The meeting does not take place without the friend on any day other than the three days (when the lady is in her periods.) It is not prohibited even on the day following the three days (*i.e.*), on the fourth day.

Note 1.—The word *an-n-āḷ* may be taken to refer to the fourth day for two reasons:—(1) the word *annāḷ-tīṇṭal* is used to refer to the pollution of women on the fifth day morning and (2) that day (the fourth) also is prohibited for meeting in *kaṟpu* since only 12 days are prescribed for meeting in the *sūtra*, "*pūppiṉ puṟappā ṭīr-āṟu nāḷum*" (Kaṟpiyal, 46).

Note 2.—*Tuṇai* is taken to mean "the lover's friend" by *Iḷampūraṇar* and *kūṭṭam* (meeting) by Naccinārkkiniyar. It is better to take *tuṇai* in the sense of the lady's friend, since the same word in the following *sūtra* has that meaning.

121. பன்னூறு வகையினுந் தன்வயின் வருஉம்
நன்னய மருங்கி னுட்டம் வேண்டலின்
தூணைச்சுட்டுக் கிளவி கிழவிய தாகும்
தூணையோர் கருமை யாக வான.

Paṉṉūṟu vakaiyiṉ-un taṉ-vayiṉ varūum
Naṉṉaya maruṅki ṉāṭṭam vēṇṭaliṉ
Tuṇaï-c-cuṭṭu-k kiḷavi kiḻaviya ṭ-ākum
Tuṇaiyōr karuma ṃ-āka lāṉa.

Since it is the duty of the lady to investigate into all the benefits that may accrue to her in diverse ways, she has to address her *tuṇai*, since it is their duty to look after her.

Note 1.—*Tuṇai* in this *sūtra* also means, according to *Iḷampūraṇar*, the lovers' friend; but *Naccinārkkiniyar* takes it to mean the lady's, *tuṇai* (*i.e.*), her friend and foster-mother. Since it is not in the nature of high class ladies to address the lover's friend, Naccinārkkiniyar's meaning seems to be sound.

Who is called *tāy*?

122. ஆய்பெருஞ் சிறப்பி னருமறை கிளத்தலின்
தாயெனப் படுவோள் செவிலி யாகும்.

Āy-peruñ cirappi ṉ-aru-maṟai kiḷattaliṉ
Tāy-eṉa-p paṭuvāḷ cevili y-ākum.

तदनुज्ञाय रम्या सा राजपुत्रीति मे श्रुतिः ।
किं तथेति ब्रुवाणं सा भणति स्म नृपात्मजम् ॥ ८३ ॥

ततोऽपि रमणीया सा न दृष्टा सृष्टिरीदृशी ।
ततस्तामादिशद् भर्ता तद्रूपालेख्यकर्मणि ॥ ८४ ॥

तया न शक्यमित्युक्ते कुमारः कन्यकाकृतिम् ।
ज्ञास्यन् यज्ञवतीरूपं लिलेख फलके क्वचित् ॥ ८५ ॥

दृष्ट्वा पुष्पोद्भवे चित्रं चित्रीयाविष्टचेतसि ।
स्मित्वा विस्मयमाना सा बभाषे बालचन्द्रिका ॥ ८६ ॥

अशक्यारम्भपक्षे यन्मया रूपं निरूपितम् ।
तत्तथैवेदमापन्नमुत्कण्ठा त्वत्र भिद्यते ॥ ८७ ॥

आकर्ण्याकृतिसंवादं मत्वा यज्ञवतीति ताम् ।
कुमारः स्वैरमातस्थे तत्रेत्थं कथयानया ॥ ८८ ॥

अथ द्वित्रिदिनापाये कुमारं बालचन्द्रिका ।
सचित्रफलकागत्य प्रियोपान्ते व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥ ८९ ॥

तदाकृत्य[1]विसंवादं वेत्तुं तच्चित्रकं मया ।
निन्ये कन्यापुरं दृष्ट्वा व्यस्मेष्ट च सखीजनः ॥ ९० ॥

सविक्रि[2]यं मृगाक्षी तन्निरीक्ष्य स्मरमन्थरम् ।
लिलेख तत्र तद्रूपं कुमारान्नैव भिद्यते ॥ ९१ ॥

इत्यर्पितं निरूप्यैतद्विस्मयस्तिमितेक्षणः ।
पुष्पोद्भवः सुहृद्रूपान्न विवेद तदा भिदाम् ॥ ९२ ॥

राजपुत्रोऽपि मन्ये सा स्मरत्येवान्यजन्मनः ।
अन्यथा कथमित्थं मद्रूपसिद्धिरिति स्वयम् ॥ ९३ ॥

चिन्तयित्वा चिरं भूयः सुहृदा सह तद्गृहे ।
नीत्वा दिनं दिदृक्षुस्तां निनाय क्षणदामपि ॥ ९४ ॥

1. त्या क. 2. श्रमं. क.

अपरेद्युः सहस्रार्चिष्युदयाचलचुम्बिनि ।
समादिष्टोत्सवं द्रष्टुं ससुहृद् राजवाहनः ॥ ९५ ॥

निष्क्रम्य नगरद्वारात् सिप्रावप्रगतो ययौ ।
पश्यन् पौरजनारब्धं तस्मिन्नुत्सवसंकुलम् ॥ ९६ ॥

पूर्वोज्जयिनिकां रम्यां वीक्षमाणः क्रमेण सः ।
बाह्योद्यानानि रम्याणि क्रीडास्थानमथाययौ ॥ ९७ ॥

देवस्थानतटाकस्य निष्कुटे तटवर्तिनि ।
कन्यापरिजनस्त्रीणां ददर्श विहृतिक्रियाः ॥ ९८ ॥

कन्दुकेन लिभिश्चारैः करणैरपि षड्विधैः ।
चित्रदुष्करमार्गेषु क्रीडन्तीरपराः स्त्रियः ॥ ९९ ॥

पाञ्चालिकादिकाः केलिपत्रच्छेद्यानि चापराः ।
दुर्वाचकानि कुर्वन्तीरष्टादशविधान्यपि ॥ १०० ॥

लिपिभेदांश्च [1]सिन्ध्वादीन् काश्चिन्म्लेच्छाक्षराणि च ।
प्रहेलिकादिका वाचः पराश्च परिचिन्वतीः ॥ १०१ ॥

सङ्गीतगीतवाद्यानाण्यभ्यस्यन्तीरनेकशः ।
तास्मिन्नवन्तिसुन्दर्यो ददर्श परिचारिकाः ॥ १०२ ॥

अवतीर्य रथात्तासामभिरामैः क्रियान्तरैः ।
विलासैर्विस्मितस्तस्मिन्नुद्याने निषसाद सः ॥ १०३ ॥

विचित्रपुष्पोपहारे निषण्णं दूष्यमण्डपे ।
बभाषे दयितोपान्ते कुमारं बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १०४ ॥

प्रबुद्धपद्मगन्धाढ्या वार्धिस्पर्धिजलर्धयः ।
देवस्थानतटाकस्य प्रेक्ष्यन्तां देव! सम्पदः ॥ १०५ ॥

[2]दीव्यन्मन्दोदकानीति प्रायो दिव्यसरांस्ययम् ।
अवन्तिपुरमाश्रित्य क्षितीश इव तिष्ठति ॥ १०६ ॥

1. सिद्धा. क. 2. निन्द. क. ग.

नौविमानान्यमून्यस्मिन् संचरन्ति सहस्रशः ।
देवता इव दीव्यन्ति प्रीतास्तेषु पुरन्ध्रयः ॥ १०७ ॥

इत्यस्मिन्नन्तरे सान्द्रः सौरभातिशयोऽभवत् ।
तमाघ्रायाललापेत्थं व्याकुला बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १०८ ॥

योऽसावुदकसंचारी प्रासादः स्फटिकोज्ज्वलः ।
रजताद्रिसमः श्रीमानत्रास्ते राजकन्यका ॥ १०९ ॥

तावता शुश्रुवे युक्तः श्रावकत्वादिषड्गुणैः ।
काकादिदोषैरस्पृष्टः स्पष्टद्वाविंशतिश्रुतिः ॥ ११० ॥

द्विग्रामयोनिस्त्रिस्थानः सप्तस्वरसमुद्भवः ।
द्विसप्तमूर्च्छनायुक्तः स्पष्टाष्टादशजातिकः ॥ १११ ॥

तानैश्चतुरशीत्या च त्रिधावस्थस्त्रिवृत्तिकः ।
षोडशालंकृतिस्तालैर्विंशत्या च समन्वितः ॥ ११२ ॥

हृद्यो गीतध्वनिश्चित्राण्यातोद्यानि च सस्वनुः ।
नेदुर्मृदङ्गवाद्यानि रेणुर्भूषणराशयः ॥ ११३ ॥

प्रकीर्णकप्रभृत्यष्टप्रभेदैर्बन्धनैर्युताः ।
विचित्रनृत्ताभिनया बभूवुर्[1]वरयोषिताम् ॥ ११४ ॥

प्रहृष्टनरनारीकनौविमानशतैर्वृतः ।
आससाद स तं देशं प्रासादः प्रमदामयः ॥ ११५ ॥

तरन्तीमिव तन्मध्ये स्वलावण्योदका[2]म्बुधौ ।
इन्दुमण्डलनिष्यन्दधारामिव निरन्तराम् ॥ ११६ ॥

केशेषु कृष्णां चरिते सुभद्रां चित्राङ्गदां दोष्णि च वाचि सत्याम् ।
वर्णे च गौरीं [3]सरसां सखीषु सर्वोत्तमस्त्रीसहितामिवाङ्गे ॥ ११७ ॥

अचिन्त्यरूपरूपां तामवन्तिनृपतेः सुताम् ।
अवन्तिसुन्दरीं दृष्ट्वा कुमारः परिषस्वजे ॥ ११८ ॥

1. पु. ग. 2. या. ख. ग. 3. सु. क.

पूर्वजन्मप्रियामेनां जानन्नपि नृपात्मजः ।
धैर्यराशिरनाश्लिष्यन्नतिष्ठत् कथमप्यसौ ॥ ११९ ॥

सापि जन्मान्तरस्मृत्या दूत्येव दृढमातया ।
प्रेर्यमाणापि धैर्येण प्रत्युत्थानादि नाकरोत् ॥ १२० ॥

जृम्भितोत्कम्परोमाञ्चस्वेदश्वासादिविक्रियाम् ।
दृष्ट्वा तां क्षणनिष्पन्दां ववन्दे बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १२१ ॥

उत्थाय परिरभ्यैनामन्यव्याजान्नृपात्मजम् ।
सविभ्रमं प्रणम्योर्व्यां निषसाद नृपात्मजा ॥ १२२ ॥

स राजवाहनं पश्यन् सर्व एवाङ्गनाजनः ।
पुष्पधन्वानमेवैनं मूर्तिमन्तममन्यत ॥ १२३ ॥

वसुमत्यामयं जातो राजहंसान्महीपतेः ।
येन त्वं लिखितेत्येवं व्याचख्यौ बालचन्द्रिका ॥ १२४ ॥

तयोरनङ्गसङ्गीतभङ्गीरङ्गायितात्मनोः ।
विकारा विविधाकारा बभूवुर्बहुविभ्रमाः ॥ १२५ ॥

ततो हंसप्रसङ्गेन व्याजहार नृपात्मजः ।
न पीडनीयाश्चक्राङ्गास्तथा हि श्रूयतां कथा ॥ १२६ ॥

आसीत् कंसरिपोः पुत्रः साम्ब इत्यस्य वल्लभा ।
अभूत् त्रिभुवनस्त्रीणां भूषणं भौमनन्दना ॥ १२७ ॥

स तया सरसि क्रीडन्मृणालैर्निगलं ददौ ।
हंसाकृतेर्मुनेः शापान्मानुषत्वमभूत्तयोः ॥ १२८ ॥

अभिन्नरूपतां तत्र स्मरणं दर्शने तयोः ।
अल्पकालं च विश्लेषं कल्पयामास तन्मुनिः ॥ १२९ ॥

श्रुत्वा नृपसुताप्येवं यज्ञवत्यपि तत् फलम् ।
भुङ्क्ष्व तथाभूतेत्यतिगम्भीरमभ्यधात् ॥ १३० ॥

ततो मातृनिदेशेन व्यथमाना कथञ्चन ।
तद्गतेनैव चित्तेन प्रतस्थे नृपकन्यका ॥ १३१ ॥

तया चित्रीयमाणः स प्रवृत्त्या नृपनन्दनः ।
चकाराभ्यवहारादिष्वाभिमुख्यं सुहृद्गिरा ॥ १३२ ॥

अथाम्बुविहृतिं पश्यत्यनुरक्ते दिनश्रिया ।
विहर्तुमिव मार्ताण्डेऽप्यवतीर्णेऽम्बरार्णवम् ॥ १३३ ॥

क्रमेण तरुणीभूते तमसि ग्रहमण्डले ।
मण्डयत्यम्बरं चन्द्रेऽप्यैन्द्रीवदनचुम्बिनि ॥ १३४ ॥

प्रदोषसमये प्राप्ते निवृत्ते जनसंकुले ।
कथंकथमपि प्रापत् कुमारः ससुहृद् गृहम् ॥ १३५ ॥

चक्रे शय्यागतश्चिन्तां चिरदृष्टापि मे प्रिया ।
न पृष्टा कुशलं कष्टं दूरे कण्ठग्रहादथः ॥ १३६ ॥

सा राजकन्या संवृत्ता वयं च गुरुयन्त्रिताः ।
असह्यः स्मरसन्तापः किमत्र करवाण्यहम् ॥ १३७ ॥

अदत्तां गुरुभिः कान्तामदृष्ट्वा च पुरोवसम् ।
न शक्यं परिणेतुं तत् सर्वथा दुर्वहो भरः ॥ १३८ ॥

चिन्तयन्तमसुं दृष्ट्वा सन्तप्तेव ततो गता ।
अवश्यायाश्रु वर्षन्ती नमदिन्दुमुखी निशा ॥ १३९ ॥

मुखमाखण्डलाशाया मण्डयत्यर्कमण्डले ।
प्रभाते सुहृदभ्येत्य व्याजहे राजवाहनम् ॥ १४० ॥

देव ! जागरकारी ते विकारः किमकारणम् ।
अकस्मादियमज्ञानां कथय [1]क्षामता कथम् ॥ १४१ ॥

इत्युक्तः प्रत्युवाचैनं कुमारः श्रूयतामहम् ।
साम्ब एवास्मि सा कन्या यज्ञवत्येव मे प्रिया ॥ १४२ ॥

अद्यैनामनवद्याङ्गीं प्रसङ्गात् पश्यतः प्रियाम् ।
सुप्तोत्थित इवात्यर्थं जृम्भते मे मनोभवः ॥ १४३ ॥

1. म्लान. ख.

विमृद्नन् मृदुवक्तीक्ष्णैर्विशिखैर्निखिलं जगत् ।
दुरात्मा कारयत्येव प्राणिनः किं न पातकम् ॥ १४४ ॥

भ्रूक्षेपवर्ति त्रैलोक्यं कुर्वता क्रूरकर्मणा ।
असंख्याः खण्डितप्राणाः पुण्डरीकादयोऽमुना ॥ १४५ ॥

अनेनैव प्रियाहेतोरत्यर्थं चित्तजन्मना ।
अविषह्यस्मरावस्था वयं चेत्थं कदर्थिताः ॥ १४६ ॥

करपत्रायते वायुः शिखिपुञ्जायते शशी ।
रम्यभूतानि वस्तूनि व्यत्यस्तानीव भान्ति मे ॥ १४७

किं कर्तव्यमिति श्रुत्वा हृष्टः पुष्पोद्भवोऽभ्यधात् ।
सत्यं सर्वं इमे दोषाश्चित्तजन्मनि किन्त्विह ॥ १४८ ॥

श्लाघ्याभिजनशीलायां प्रियायां प्रथमं तव ।
युक्तं चित्तभुवारब्धं सदृशस्नेहकारिणा ॥ १४९ ॥

व्यतिरिक्तविकारैव त्वत्तोऽपि नृपकन्यका ।
तदत्राभिमतप्राप्तौ विषादस्तव किं कृतः ॥ १५० ॥

दर्पसारमवज्ञाय स्वसुरस्याः करग्रहः ।
तेजोऽनुरूपं तत् सर्वं कल्याणमिव लक्ष्यते ॥ १५१ ॥

इत्यस्मिन्नन्तरे प्राप्ता विविक्ते बालचन्द्रिका ।
आचष्ट कुशलं पृष्ट्वा सप्रत्ययमिदं वचः ॥ १५२ ॥

देवाद्य कुशलं देव्या यथावस्था निशम्यताम् ।
त्वद्दर्शनात् प्रभृत्यस्या विरक्तिः सर्ववस्तुषु ॥ १५३ ॥

तयाहूता सखीं द्रष्टुं तुङ्गतोरणगोपुरम् ।
लक्ष्मीमयमिवाश्चर्यं प्राविक्षं नृपतिक्षयम् ॥ १५४ ॥

गत्वा कन्यापुरोद्देशं तत्रोद्यानगता गिरः ।
चित्राः परिजनस्त्रीणामश्रौषं तापशंसिनीः ॥ १५५ ॥

ततः क्रीडासरस्तीरे धारागृहगतां सखीम् ।
अन्यामिव शुचा शोच्यामपश्यं नृपकन्यकाम् ॥ १५६ ॥

सा मा समीक्ष्य संभ्रान्ता चिन्ताभारकृशा भृशम् ।
अपृच्छन्मां परिष्वज्य त्वद्वृत्तान्तमनन्तरम् ॥ १५७ ॥

मयोक्तं देवि ! सोऽप्येवं किमपि व्यक्तविक्रियः ।
गतायां त्वयि संतापादकरोद् वासरक्रियाम् ॥ १५८ ॥

गते सुहृद्गृहं तस्मिन्नाहूताहमिहागता ।
भद्रे ! कथमियं जाता त्वदङ्गे कथय व्यथा ॥ १५९ ॥

इति पृष्टा परिष्वज्य प्रेमगाढं चिराय माम् ।
अतिगम्भीरमारेभे विविक्ते वक्तुमित्यसौ ॥ १६० ॥

सखि ! पश्याप्रकाश्येयमावयोः श्रूयतां कथा ।
स एव साम्बः किं गुप्त्या यज्ञवत्येव सास्म्यहम् ॥ १६१ ॥

त्वयापि श्रुतमेवावामेवं देवासुरेशयोः ।
जनित्वा मुनिशापेन प्र[1]यावो विरहव्यथाम् ॥ १६२ ॥

अहो ! मे हृदि नै[2]ष्ठुर्यं यच्चिरोपनते प्रिये ।
नाश्लिष्टं कष्टमौचित्यं चिन्तितं पापया मया ॥ १६३ ॥

इत्यालपन्ती संतापे[3]मज्जन्ती मदुरःस्थले ।
मूर्च्छया पतिता भूयः प्रत्याश्वस्येदमभ्यधाम् ॥ १६४ ॥

[4]न युक्तं सखि ! संतप्तुं संतोषविषये त्वया ।
किं ते जन्मान्तरप्रेयानचिरादनुभूयताम् ॥ १६५ ॥

अनुरूपवरप्राप्तिः पितृभ्यां तेऽनुमन्यते ।
चण्डवर्मा विरुन्ध्यात्तत् कर्तव्यो गूढसंगमः ॥ १६६ ॥

इत्यादि चिरमुक्त्वैनामाश्वास्याहमिहागता ।
दुर्वचा वर्तते तस्या न जाने कीदृशी दशा ॥ १६७ ॥

इति मृदु कथयित्वा लज्जयानम्रवक्त्रां
वरतनुमभिधाय स्वैरमात्मीयवार्ताम् ।

1. साहं. ख.
2. धूर्त्य. ख. ग.
3. पैर्म. क. ग.
4. गच्छ त्वं सखि संतप्तं. क. ग.

निपुणमिति कुमारः पूर्वजन्मोचितार्थां
रमयितुमथ गाथां प्राहिणोत् प्राणनाथाम् ॥ १६८

अरुन्धती[1]मारिशरपीडितात्मनो
यदाश्रमे तरुणि ! पुराप्यदर्शयः ।.....
तदद्य ते हृदि मदनास्त्रमुद्रितं
मृदुस्मिते ! लिखितमिवात्र तिष्ठति ॥ १६९ ॥

इत्येनां तदनु विसृज्य सोपचारं
यत्रास्य प्रियजनदर्शनोत्सवोऽभूत्
आनन्दस्तिमितमना विनोदनार्थी
तं देशं ससुहृदुपाययौ कुमारः ॥ १७० ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे षष्ठः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथालोक्य द्विजं कञ्चित् प्रभाते देवमन्दिरे ।
सङ्गं प्रायोपवेशाय प्राप्यैनं तावपृच्छताम् ॥ १ ॥

अकस्मात् किमयं कायस्त्यज्यते को भवानिति ।
पृष्टः प्रान्तोपविष्टाभ्यां ताभ्यां भूतार्थमभ्यधात् ॥ २ ॥

अग्रहारोऽस्त्यगस्त्याशाभूषणं चोलभूमिषु ।
व्याघ्रग्रामाह्वयः सोऽयं तद्देशाभिजनो जनः ॥ ३ ॥

विप्रो विद्येश्वराख्योऽस्मि ज्ञात्वा मन्त्रं कुतोऽप्यहम् ।
गारुडं तेन वित्तार्थी लब्धविद्यालवोऽभवम् ॥ ४ ॥

सर्वेषां पुरुषार्थानामर्थाधीनतया पुनः ।
अशिश्रयममर्यादं राजवेश्म किमप्यहम् ॥ ५ ॥

तत्र क्षुद्रान् पशुप्रायानपश्यं पार्थिवब्रुवान् ।
उपचीयन्त एवैषां मलानि त्वभिषेकतः ॥ ६ ॥

येषां दोषेषु सौहार्दं साहसेषु सहायधीः ।
नयज्ञबुद्धिर्मायाविष्वक्षीलोक्तिषु वाग्मिता ॥ ७ ॥

1. स्मर. क.

THE RĀMĀYAṆA

BY

T. R. VENKATARAMA SASTRI

Prof. Jacobi is reported to have said that, if the Rāmāyaṇa was carefully sifted, not quite 6000 out of 24000 ślokas would be left as the genuine work of Vālmīki. What canons of judgment as to what is Vālmīki's, and what is not, would result in so drastic an excision from the Rāmāyaṇa, I can scarcely imagine. Jacobi's work is not available to us in English. I take this statement of Jacobi's from Dr. Winternitz's book which has been made available by Mrs. Ketkar with the co-operation of the Doctor himself. Dr. Winternitz says that the Uttarakāṇḍa is a later addition to the Rāmāyaṇa. Several Indian scholars also hold that opinion. The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri appears to have held the same opinion, judging from a letter from Mr. R. Narayana Aiyar to him, and from the same letter it appears that he, Mr. Narayana Aiyar, a very close student of the Rāmāyaṇa, did not agree with that view. It is for Mr. Narayana Aiyar to tell us on what grounds he accepts the Uttarakāṇḍa as part of the genuine original of Vālmīki. I here propose to set down such material as there is in Rāmāyaṇa and in the commentaries that bear on two questions:

(1) Whether Uttarakāṇḍa was part of Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa; and,

(2) Whether the Upodghāta sargas I. 1-4 were an addition by another hand.

1. The commentators had both the Uttara and the Upodghāta before them as part of the Rāmāyaṇa as their commentaries indicate. There is, therefore, indubitable proof that they were part of the Rāmāyaṇa *at their date*; other literary and epigraphic references too show the early date of both these portions of the epic and they must be deemed *prima facie* proof of their being part of the Rāmāyaṇa, unless displaced by any other decisive evidence.

2. The Uttara says in many a passage that it was written by Vālmīki. But, as Sāyaṇa says in his Introduction to the

Ṛgveda, no man can jump on his own shoulders, *i.e.*, no one can authenticate his statement by his own assertion. In a work orally transmitted, additions of enthusiastic bards are not seldom made in this country, and possibly in all countries. A plagiarist claims another's literary work as his own to enhance his reputation. These additions have the effect of attributing one's work to an illustrious author and investing them with an authority which they will not have if the true authorship is known.

3. "Caturviṁśatisāhasrikā" has almost become an alternate name for the kāvya. According to none is 24000 made out without Uttara. The inference depends upon other considerations. If the Uttara is assumed to be Vālmīki's from the beginning, the name furnishes further support to that view. If it was not orginally part of the Rāmāyaṇa, that name must have been given after the Uttara was added to it.

4. The Anukramaṇikā in the Southern recension has a śloka giving the extent of the kāvya:

caturviṁśat-sahasrāṇi
ślokānām uktavān ṛṣiḥ
tathā sargaśatān pañca
ṣaṭkāṇḍāni tathottaram

500 sargas and 24000 ślokas are given as the extent. In fact the number of sargas is 648 for seven kāṇḍas and 537 for all but the seventh. The tradition is stated to be that the 500 sargas is the measure of the ṣaṭkāṇḍas only, but the whole, inclusive of Uttara, contained 24000 ślokas. One commentator says:

"Tatra pañcaśatasargasaṅkhyā ṣaṭakāṇḍānām eva. Ślokasaṅkhyā tu sottarānām ityāhuḥ."

It is difficult to say why the count was taken of the ślokas after all the seven kāṇḍas were finished, but the count of the sargas was taken for ṣaṭkāṇḍas only. Nor is it easily explained why the sargas were not counted at the same time and correction made in the śloka as to sargas. It is not readily conceivable who could be interested in giving so misleading an account of the number of sargas. The odd sargas

below one hundred could have been fitted into the verse giving the number. It could have been said:

tathā sargaśatān ṣaṭ ća
saptatriṁśad athāpi ća.

And why '6 kāṇḍās with Uttara' instead of seven kāṇḍas one cannot see. Kataka-kāra has pronounced the śloka spurious. The commentator quoted goes on to say:

"Katakakṛtastu pañcāśatsargasaṅkhyāyāḥ ṣaṭ-triṁśat-sargādhikya-darśanāt[1] ślokasaṅkhyāyā apyādhikyadarśanād uttarakāṇḍasargasaṅkhyānuktesća śloko'yam prakṣipto na tvārṣaḥ."

But this verdict is not accepted by Govindarāja. He admits its inaccuracy but gives three alternative explanations for the inaccuracy. It might be that round figures only were intended to be given just as Amarakośa defines a Manvantara as 71 caturyugas, omitting 6 caturyugas undistributed between the fourteen Manus. This is hardly satisfactory when the admitted object was to prevent tampering with the kāvya. Or it might be, he says, that 500 was the project which exceeded in actual execution. This is not satisfactory either, as the count should have been then corrected and could easily have been after the completion of the work. The last explanation is that in course of long ages one sarga might have been copied as two or three and what really was 500 originally became 537. This is a plausible explanation, though it should be surprising that in all this vast country there is not one manuscript showing just five hundred sargas. The utter confusion in which we find the figures may be exhibited by a comparison of figures as to sargas and ślokas in Gorresio's Anukramaṇikā, his own text, Govindarāja's figures of the text in his time and the figures of MLJ edition in parallel columns and I also give the ślokas of his Anukramaṇikā as to the extent of each kāṇḍa together with the matter contained in the Uttara in a footnote[2]

1. Not 36 but 37 is the excess in sargas to the end of Yuddhakāṇḍa.

2. इत्येतत् प्रथमं काण्डमादिकाण्डमिहोच्यते ।
सर्गाश्चैव चतुःषष्टिः श्लोकानां चात्र कथ्यते ॥
द्वे सहस्रे शतान्यष्टौ श्लोकाः पञ्चाशदेव तु ।
* * *
काण्डं द्वितीयमित्युक्तमयोध्याकाण्डसंज्ञितम् ।
अशीतिः सङ्ख्यया सर्गाः श्लोकानां चात्र कीर्त्यते ॥

in order to show that his text just like the Southern recension contains in the Yuddhakāṇḍa much that is assigned to the

त्रीणि श्लोकसहस्राणि नव श्लोकशतानि च ।
श्लोकानां द्वे शते चैव भूयः श्लोकाश्च सप्ततिः ॥

* * *

इति काण्डं तृतीयं तु आरण्यकमिति स्मृतम् ।
सर्गाणां च शतं ज्ञेयं सर्गाश्चैव चतुर्दश ॥
चत्वारि च सहस्राणि श्लोकानां कीर्तितानि च ।
शतं चैवात्र विज्ञेयं श्लोकाः पञ्चाशदेव तु ॥

* * *

काण्डं चतुर्थमित्युक्तं किष्किन्धा नाम संज्ञितम् ।
सर्गाश्चैवात्र विज्ञेयाश्चतुःषष्टिस्तु सङ्ख्यया ॥
श्लोकानां द्वे सहस्रे च अष्टौ श्लोकशतानि च ।
श्लोकानां च शतं ज्ञेयं पञ्चविंशतिरेव च ॥

* * *

इत्येतत् पञ्चमं काण्डं सुन्दरं नाम कीर्तितम् ।
सर्गाणां यत्र सङ्ख्या च काण्डे सुन्दरसंज्ञिते ॥
चत्वारिंशत् त्रयश्चैव सर्गाः सम्यगुदाहृताः ।
श्लोकानां द्वे सहस्रे च चत्वारिंशच्च पञ्च च ॥

* * *

इति षष्ठमिदं काण्डं युद्धकाण्डमिति स्मृतम् ।
सर्गाणां च शतं ज्ञेयं पञ्च सर्गास्तथैव च ॥
काण्डे ह्यस्मिंस्तथा सङ्ख्या श्लोकानामपि कथ्यते ।
चत्वार्येव सहस्राणि पञ्च श्लोकशतानि च ॥

* * *

अतस्त्वभ्युदयं नाम सोत्तरं संप्रचक्षते ।
यत्र रावणदाराणां विलापः समुदाहृतः ॥
विभीषणाभिषेकश्च सत्कारो रावणस्य च ।
हनूमत्संप्रवेशश्च मैथिल्याश्चैव दर्शनम् ॥
सीताया निर्गमश्चैव रामेण च समागमः ।
भर्त्सनं चैव सीताया राघवेण महात्मना ॥
परित्यागश्च वैदेह्यास्तथा चाग्निप्रवेशनम् ।
अग्निप्रवेशे च तदा अदाहः परमाद्भुतः ॥
ब्रह्मादीनां च सर्वेषां देवानामिह दर्शनम् ।
वृषभध्वजदेवस्य दर्शनं चात्र कथ्यते ॥

Uttara showing that at some stage even the matter was differently distributed between the Yuddha and Uttara.

शक्राद्वरस्य संप्राप्तिर्हरीणां प्रतिजीवनम् ।
रत्नानां संविभागश्च राक्षसेन्द्रेण धीमता ॥
पुष्पकारोहणं चैव राघवस्य महात्मनः ।
वानराणां च सर्वेषां राक्षसानां तथैव च ॥
प्रतियानं च कथितं विस्तरेण महात्मनाम् ।
भारद्वाजाश्रमप्राप्तिर्ऋषेर्दर्शनमेव च ॥
नन्दिग्रामे प्रवेशश्च गुरूणां चैव दर्शनम् ।
अयोध्यासंप्रवेशश्च व्रतस्य च समापनम् ॥
अभिषेकश्च रामस्य प्रमोदो नगरस्य च ।
यौवराज्यप्रदानं च भरतस्य महात्मनः ॥

(Up to this, matter is now included in the Yuddhakāṇḍa in all editions including Gorresio's)

मुनीनामिह संप्राप्तिरुत्पत्तिश्चैव रक्षसाम् ।
त्रैलोक्यविजयाख्यानमहल्यापरिकीर्तनम् ॥
तथा सीताप्रवासश्च लक्ष्मणेन महात्मना ।
वाल्मीकाश्रमसंप्राप्तिर्मैथिल्याश्चात्र कथ्यते ॥
कुशीलवसमुत्पत्तिरिक्ष्वाकुकुलवृद्धये ।
लवणस्य वधश्चात्र शत्रुघ्नेन प्रकीर्तितः ॥
शम्बूकस्य वधश्चात्र कुम्भयोनिसमागमः ।
अलंकारस्य संप्राप्तिः श्वेतोपाख्यानमेव च ॥
अश्वमेधसमारम्भो गीतश्रवणमेव च ।
काव्यस्य चान्ते विज्ञाय स्वपुत्रौ तौ कुशीलवौ ॥
वाल्मीकेश्चैव वाक्यानि विलापो राघवस्य च ।
रसातलप्रवेशश्च वैदेह्याः परमाद्भुतः ॥
राघवस्य च संरम्भो दर्शनं परमेष्ठिनः ।
कालदुर्वाससोः प्राप्तिः संत्यागो लक्ष्मणस्य च ॥
सुहृदां चैव पौराणां प्लवगानां महात्मनाम् ।
महाप्रस्थानगमनं स्वर्गप्राप्तिश्च पुष्कला ॥
इत्याभ्युदयिकं काण्डं सभविष्यं सहोत्तरम् ।
नवतिः सङ्ख्यया सर्गाः श्लोकानां चात्र कथ्यते ॥
त्रीणि श्लोकसहस्राणि तावन्त्येव शतानि च ।
षष्टिः श्लोकास्तथा ज्ञेयाः काण्डेऽस्मिन् परिसङ्ख्यया ॥
सर्गाणां षट् शतानीह विंशतिश्चैव कीर्तिताः ।

G's Anukramaṇikā	G's Text	Govindarāja	MLJ Edn.
64	80	77	77
80	127	119	119
114	75	75	75
64	79	67	67
43	63	68	68
105	113	131	131
90	Nil	110	111
560	537	647	648

Note that Gorresio's text does not agree with his own Anukramaṇikā in sargas and ślokas. The last two columns differ as to the inclusion of the last sarga in Uttara.

2850	2487	2256	2280
4170	4119	4415	4310
4150	2842	2732	2414
2925	2302	2620	2528
2045	3299	3006	2848
4560	5143	5990	5754
3360	Nil	3234	3462
24000	20202	24253	23596

Gorresio must have been aware that his text does not agree with his Anukramaṇikā. His notes deserve translation.

5. The description of the work of Vālmīki is contained in the 9th śloka of the 4th sarga:

Sa yathā kathitam pūrvam
Nāradena maharṣiṇā
Raghuvaṁśasya caritam
cakāra bhagavān ṛṣiḥ[1]

That was undertaken in deference to Brahma's direction to write a kāvya 'yathā te nāradācchrutam'[2]. Brahma gave a boon to Vālmīki of being able to figure out what was rahasya or prakāśa. 'Vastu samagram' was obtained from Nārada and the narrative of Nārada therefore circumscribes Vālmīki's kāvya. Where does Nārada leave the story?

1. This is not in Gorresio's edition.
2. Not in Gorresio's edition.

Nandigrāme jaṭām hitvā
bhrātṛbhis sahito 'naghaḥ
Rāmas Sītām anuprāpya
rājyam punar avāptavān.

The rest of the sarga relates to the happiness of the subjects under his rule, his many sacrifices and the merit acquired by the reader of the kāvya to whatever caste he belonged. One thing more is contained in it:

rājavaṁśān śataguṇān
sthāpayiṣyati Rāghavaḥ
cāturvarṇyam ca loke 'smin
sve sve dharme niyokṣyati
daśavarṣasahasrāṇi
daśavarṣaśatāni ca
Rāmo rājyam upāsitvā
brahmalokam prayāsyati.

It is to be noted that the future tense is used. Now turn to that last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. Rāma has recovered Sītā. He is crowned and has obtained his rājya. Lakṣmaṇa had declined yauvarājya against all persuasion. Bharata is appointed yuvarāja. Then follow verses describing the happiness of his people under his rule, the many sacrifices performed, some more than once, and the merit of the reader and the copyist. I set down in footnotes in parallel columns the passages in Nārada's narrative and the ślokas of the last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa.[1] Gorresio has a different text but the story is in effect the same.

1. नन्दिग्रामे जटां हित्वा भ्रातृभिः सहितोऽनघः ।
 रामः सीतामनुप्राप्य राज्यं पुनरवाप्तवान् ॥
2. प्रहृष्टमुदितो लोकस्तुष्टः पुष्टः सुधार्मिकः ।
a. निरामयो ह्यरोगश्च दुर्भिक्षभयवर्जितः ॥
 न पुत्रमरणं केचिद् द्रक्ष्यन्ति पुरुषाः क्वचित् ।
b. नार्याश्चाविधवा नित्यं भविष्यन्ति पतिव्रताः ।
 न चाग्निजं भयं किंचिन्नापि मज्जन्ति जन्तवः॥
 न वातजं भयं किंचिन्नापि ज्वरकृतं तथा ।
 न चापि क्षुद्भयं तत्र न तस्करभयं तथा ।
 नगराणि च राष्ट्राणि धनधान्ययुतानि च ॥
 नित्यं प्रमुदिताः सर्वे यथा कृतयुगे तथा ॥

1. लक्ष्मणानुचरो रामः पृथिवीमन्वपालयत् ॥
 राघवश्चापि धर्मात्मा प्राप्य राज्यमनुत्तमम् ।
3. ईजे बहुविधैर्यज्ञैः समुद्धृज्ञातिबान्धवैः ॥
2b. न पर्यदेवन् विधवा न च व्यालकृतं भयम् ।
 न व्याधिजं भयं वापि रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥
 निर्दस्युरभवल्लोको नानर्थः कांचिदस्पृशत् ।
a. न च स्म वृद्धा बालानां प्रेतकार्याणि कुर्वते ॥
 सर्वं मुदितमेवासीत् सर्वो धर्मपरोऽभवत् ।
 राममेवानुपश्यन्तो नाभ्यहिंसन् परस्परम् ॥
 आसन् वर्षसहस्राणि तथा पुत्रसहस्रिणः ।
b. निरामया विशोकाश्च रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥
 रामो रामो राम इति प्रजानाभवन् कथाः ।
 रामभूतं जगदभूद्रामे राज्यं प्रशासति ॥

In the first and last sargas, numerals will be used to mark the passages to be compared. The last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa and the last ślokas in particular write *Finis* on the Rāmāyaṇa. Gorresio's edition comes to an end with the Yuddhakāṇḍa and it says expressly *Rāmāyaṇam samāptām*. But it has an Anukramaṇikā-sarga which refers to a seventh kāṇḍa going right to the Mahāprasthāna. It is therefore ambiguous. The only thing that it shows is that some manuscripts ended with the Yuddhakāṇḍa, with '*samāptam*' at the end. Looking to Gorresio's Anukramaṇikā, Yuddhakāṇḍa ended with the death of Rāvaṇa. The lamentations of his women begin the Abhyudayakāṇḍa. They are an inauspicious beginning for an Abhyudayakāṇḍa. At some time it must have been recast, so as to make the book end with coronation and the disbanding of the army which is the same thing as the send off to Rāma's guests.

6. Now let us turn to the Uttara as it exists today in the Southern edition. It is not a natural continuation of the narrative as it had reached at the end of the Yuddhakāṇḍa. Rāma has recovered Sītā. He has come back to his kingdom and has been crowned king. The celebrations connected with the coronation are all over. The guests, Sugrīva and his army of monkeys, Vibhīṣaṇa and his faithful followers, some of

3. अश्वमेधशतैरिष्ट्वा तथा बहुसुवर्णकैः ॥
गवां कोट्ययुतं दत्त्वा विद्वद्भ्यो विधिपूर्वकम्।
असङ्ख्येयं धनं दत्त्वा ब्राह्मणेभ्यो महायशाः॥

राजवंशान् शतगुणान् स्थापयिष्यति राघवः ।
4. चातुर्वर्ण्यं च लोकेऽस्मिन् स्वे स्वे धर्मे नियोक्ष्यति
दशवर्षसहस्राणि दशवर्षशतानि च ।
रामो राज्यमुपासित्वा ब्रह्मलोकं प्रयास्यति ॥
5. इदं पवित्रं पापघ्नं पुण्यं वेदैश्च सम्मितम् ।
यः पठेद्रामचरितं सर्वपापैः प्रमुच्यते ॥
एतदाख्यानमायुष्यं पठन् रामायणं नरः ।
सपुत्रपौत्रः सगणः प्रेत्य स्वर्गे महीयते ॥

नित्यपुष्पा नित्यफलास्तरवः स्कन्धविस्तृताः ।
काले वर्षी च पर्जन्यः सुखस्पर्शश्च मारुतः ॥
3. पौण्डरीकाश्वमेधाभ्यां वाजपेयेन चासकृत् ।
अन्यैश्च विविधैर्यज्ञैरयजत् पार्थिवात्मजः ॥
राज्यं दश सहस्राणि प्राप्य वर्षाणि राघवः ।
शताश्वमेधानाजह्रे सदश्वान् भूरिदक्षिणान् ॥
आजानुलम्बबाहुः स महास्कन्धः प्रतापवान् ।
4. ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रिया वैश्याः शूद्रा लोभविवर्जिताः।
स्वकर्मसु प्रवर्तन्ते तुष्टाः स्वैरेव कर्मभिः ॥

5. ऐश्वर्यं पुत्रलाभश्च भविष्यति न संशयः ।
रामायणमिदं कृत्स्नं शृण्वतः पठतः सदा ॥
एवमेतत् पुरावृत्तमाख्यानं भद्रमस्तु वः ।
प्रव्याहरत विस्रब्धं बलं विष्णोः प्रवर्धताम् ॥
देवाश्च सर्वे तुष्यन्ति ग्रहणाच्छ्रवणात्तथा ।
रामायणस्य श्रवणात्तुष्यन्ति पितरस्तथा ॥
भक्त्या रामस्य ये चेमां संहितामृषिणा कृताम् ।
लेखयन्तीह च नरास्तेषां वासस्त्रिविष्टपे ॥

the kapis, Hanumān and others who are specially named—who are in fact his army against Laṅkā, except for the women among them, receive appropriate presents and take leave and go home. The story bears every mark of ending there. When we come to Uttara the story begins apparently on the very coronation day. The guests have not yet gone home. They are all there. The ṛṣis come from all directions to offer congratulations to Rāma on his victory over Rāvaṇa, Kumbhakarṇa and especially Meghanāda, son of Rāvaṇa, better known as Indrajit.

One question why Indrajit is rated higher as a warrier above his father and uncle started a long story. When an old race of rākṣasas was mentioned, were not then all rākṣasas Paulastyas, asked Rāma. The long story upon which the ancient sage Agastya was started included the old race of rākṣasas in Laṅkā, Viṣṇu driving them out, Laṅkā being given to Vaiśravaṇa, rākṣasas with Rāvaṇa's help re-capturing it ousting Vaiśravaṇa, his Puṣpaka vimāna being seized by Rāvaṇa, Rāvaṇa's penances and the boons obtained from Brahmā, how puffed up by the boons, he fought Vaiśravaṇa, Yama, Indra and Varuṇa, how Meghanāda acquired the name of Indrajit in the war against Indra, how Rāvaṇa was worsted by Kārtavīryārjuna and Vāli, how he was rescued from the former by his father and how he made *sakhya* with Vāli and then about the early life of Hanumān. This long narrative occupies 36 sargas. The whole narrative occupies the busy coronation day, while only 20 sargas could be recited at Aśvamedha; the 37th sarga refers to the night of the coronation. After some days Janaka and other guests are sent home with presents. This second narrative of send-off of the guests is the same as that in the last sarga of the Yuddhakāṇḍa after the celebrations were over. If Vālmīki wrote continuously at the same time, the narrative would not have overlapped in that way. The inference is that at least, Vālmīki, if indeed he himself was the author, took up that part of the Rāmāyaṇa at a later time and went back to an earlier day for the resumption of the story. There are other stories in which Rāma and Lakṣmaṇa were narrators and listened by turns. One story deserves special mention. Sumantra, the good minister, who seems to be the custodian of all ancient lore, the one who narrated how Ṛśyaśṛṅga should be brought for the performance of *putrakāmeṣṭi* here brings a new story of a conversation between

Daśaratha and Durvāsas in which Daśaratha asked the question as to what his prospect was in regard to sons and gets the answer that Viṣṇu lay under a curse of Bhṛgu and was going to be born as his son and suffer long separation from his wife and that was happening to Rāma at the moment. So all the time Daśaratha knew that Rāma was the Supreme Unborn born as his son—a statement not borne out by Daśaratha's conduct on any occasion. At what stage of the recital did Rāma come to know that the reciters were his own sons by Sītā, it is not stated by the Southern recension. Gorresio's edition says at the end of the story. If so, Rāma sent for Vālmīki knowing that Sītā would accompany him and disappear into the bowels of the earth, into the Rasātala, and certainly when he asked Lakṣmaṇa to mount guard, the kāvya had long previously told him that it would end in his *parityāga*. That seems to me unnatural because man struggles against warning but yet destiny defeats him. Rāma did struggle against the disappearance of Sītā voluntarily. It is not natural to be warned of the end and yet to walk into the foretold calamity. And again in the Mahāprasthāna the whole host of citizens, young and old, and therefore even infants, enter the Sarayū. And the benignant Rāma who obtained by a special boon from Indra that all the dead kapis should come back to life acquiesces in the citizens joining him in the mahāprasthāna without dissuading them. One wonders whether the mahāprasthāna of the Rāmāyaṇa was modelled on that of the Mahābhārata with this exaggeration that what was confined to the heroes in the Mahābhārata was extended to the heroes as well as the citizens and sthāvaras and jaṅgamas, somewhat inartistically, because Vāsudeva Yādava is referred to in the Uttara in connection with *Nṛgaśāpavimocana*. Two unnamed persons quarrel over a cow and approaching the king Nṛga, could not see him. They curse him that he should turn into a kṛkalāsa (chameleon) and set a *terminus ad quem* for the operation of their curse. Competent students of the Rāmāyaṇa pronounce the style and art of Uttara inferior to the ṣaṭkāṇḍas. If that has any justification, then the Uttara is a later addition by another hand. Certainly the art of story-telling is inferior, at least generally. I am not sure that a recital of his own future to Rāma is well-conceived.

There are certain minor indications which must now be set out. In the fourth sarga, commenting on:

ciranirvṛttam apyetat
pratyakṣam iva dṛśyate

Tilaka has it that *etat* which is really the whole body of the kāvya is really the ṣaṭkāṇḍas. The word *Nirvṛtta* (past) enforces it. There are two things to say: first, part of Uttara is *nirvṛtta* and should have been included if Uttara is to be recognised as Vālmīki's work. The second is that proper construction is that the whole kāvya related to the *past only*. When Vālmīki sat on the kuśa grass to explore the full material, what did he find?

hasitam bhāṣitam caiva
gatir yā yacca ceṣṭitam
tatsarvam dharmavīryeṇa
yathāvat samprapasyati.

strītṛtīyena ca tathā
yatprāptam caratā vane
satyasandhena Rāmeṇa
tatsarvam cānvaveṣitam.

purā yat tatra *nirvṛttam*
pāṇāvāmalakam yathā
tatsarvam tattvato dṛṣṭvā
dharmeṇa ca mahādyutiḥ.

It is to be noted that the search for material for the kāvya was wholly in connection with the past. Does not the future require any exploration similarly; but nothing is said of it there. The real narrative begins with

kosalo nāma muditaḥ (I. 5. 5).

It is said that the illustrious Tamil author Kamban so begins his Rāmāyaṇa and ends it with coronation, leaving another to write the Uttara. Even the reciters must have begun with that śloka. Some one objected that if the first four sargas had been recited, Rāmā would have known easily that the reciters were his own sons. Govindarāja meets the objection by saying that Rāma would not have known it as there was no statement that they were Sītā's sons though they were said to be regal in appearance. But then we have also,

Bimbād ivotthitau bimbau
Rāmadehāt tathāparau.

And we have in Uttara, sarga 94, that the assembled auditors looked at the reciters and Rāma and said to each other that

except for the jaṭā and habiliments of the ascetics they saw no difference between them and Rāma and *bimbād ivotthitau bimbau* is also repeated but it also states that the recital included Nārada's story to Vālmīki. If these sargas were also recited, why did Rāma ask *"kimpramāṇam idam kāvyam"* in the 94th sarga when it had been given at the very beginning as 500 sargas and 24000 ślokas. It cannot be that Rāma had forgotten it when we have it that he listened to the recital with *kautūhala* and *avahitacetas*. That the four sargas and four ślokas of the fifth sarga could not have been recited is the inference or at least that the śloka was a spurious addition. From Govindarāja we learn that a disciple might have written the sargas and prefixed them as a prefatory matter. I think not an improper inference that the reciters could not have recited them though the Uttara says that they were recited.

The long ślokas are not to be dismissed for the reason that they are in another metre than śloka. Vālmīki surely knew that long and short metres are to be found in Veda itself. Vālmīki did not invent the śloka but took it from the Vedic metres and used it for the kāvya for the first time. I am aware that he intended to write the kāvya in ślokas (See I. 2. 40-41). Govindarāja is aware of it and adds, *"Idṛśāiḥ iti prāyikābhiprāyam etad; vṛttāntarāṇāmapi tatra tatra prayogāt."* Some sargas are in the longer metre. Even where we can dispense with a mere summarising śloka at the end of a sarga as unnecessary, I cannot say that such long verses might not be an intended summary and a part of his art. Some passages, the commentators say, are doubtful because they are, like Ādityahṛdaya, not to be found in some books. It is clear however, that Govindarāja does not like the Āditya cult. One cannot assume that Vālmīki's sense of propriety tallied with ours. To pay reverence to a great Ṛṣi like Bhāradvāja on the way may be considered proper. Dilīpa hurrying at the call of duty had to perform a penance for neglecting the divine cow on the way.

This pruning of Rāmāyaṇa is a separate department of study. Appreciation of Rāmāyaṇa as a book that had a deep influence on men and has moulded largely their character and as one among the books that lie at the root of Indian culture belongs to another sphere of study. Even not so very partial a witness as Rückert says:

"Such fantastic grimaces, such formless fermenting verbiage
As Rāmāyaṇa offers thee, that has Homer
Certainly taught thee to despise; but yet such lofty thoughts
And such deep feeling Iliad does not show".

From a foreigner brought up in another tradition and with different conception of art, it is high praise and unquestionably if he does not appreciate the art of Vālmīki it is only in small part due to his different conceptions of art but in large part due to the disservice the rhapsodial poetasters have done by the poetical effusions inserted in the genuine text of the Rāmāyaṇa.

What "funded experience" of a people even at so early a date stood embodied in this Ādikāvya, the earliest epic of India! It is its "lofty thoughts and deep feeling" that India has fed on. It is this rich heritage that we seem to be forgetting today. But what has been said, *yavād sthāsyanti girayaḥ* etc., is up to date verified and may it continue to nourish us in the future as it has nourished us in the past. Nothing in this attempt at recovering the genuine text of Vālmīki can detract from the intrinsic value of this great Ādikāvya to us.

THE DRAUPADĪVASTRAHARAṆA EPISODE: AN INTERPOLATION IN THE MAHĀBHĀRATA.*

BY

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1. The Draupadīvastraharaṇa (Dv) episode appears in the Sabhā Parvan of the Mbh. (Ch. 61, vv. 40-48, Critical ed.) Its length and contents vary in the different editions of the great epic. The longest account of the Dv. appears in the Kumbhakonam ed. (Ch. 90, vv. 40-58) rightly described as a misch-edition; while the shortest account appears in the critical ed. published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona. The Vulgate represented by the Citraśālā Press ed. (Ch. 68, vv. 40-55) and the Madras ed. (Ch. 61, vv. 42-57) representing the Southern Recension have practically got the same extent of the episode, with some different verses. The critical ed. and the Vulgate have the same order of events, while the Madras and the Kumbh. eds. have a different order.

2. The chief events in the Dv. episode are according to the Critical ed. three, *viz.* (1) Duḥśāsana tearing off Draupadī's cloth, and the appearance of a new garment (vv. 40-42), (2) Bhīma taking a vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana (vv. 43-47), and, (3) a heap of Draupadī's garments stopping Duḥśāsana from his activity (v. 48). There is no mention of Draupadī's pathetic appeal to Kṛṣṇa, the Lord of the Vraja and dear to Gopīs—an appeal which appears in the Vulgate (vv. 42-48), the Madras ed. (vv. 43-50) and the Kumbh. ed. (vv. 41-51). Bhīma's vow of tasting the blood of Duḥśāsana appears at the end in the Madras and Kumbh. eds., while it appears before Duḥśāsana desists from his action, in the Vulgate and in the Critical ed.

3. The omission of Draupadī's appeal to Kṛṣṇa from the Critical ed., on the strength of the unfailing evidence of Mss. is, indeed, very significant, and confirms the opinions of Sir Bhandarkar,[1] Dr. Winternitz,[2] Dr. Farquhar[3] and Mr.

* Paper read at the Classical Sanskrit Section of the 15th All-India Oriental Conference, Bombay.

1. Vaiṣṇavism etc., p. 36, fn. 1.
2. A History of Indian Literature, Vol. I, p. 344, fn. 2.
3. Outline of the Religious Literature of India, p. 100, fn.6.

Utgikar.[1] The shortest account in the Critical ed., therefore, represents an earlier stage of the Dv. episode. The later redactors are mainly responsible for the longer versions including Draupadī's appeal to Kṛṣṇa. The old simple stories were later on embroidered with the obvious motive of glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the highest divinity, and of creating interest in the audience. Prof. Edgerton, the learned editor of the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan, holds the view that the shortest account of the Dv. episode, as given in the Critical ed., appeared in the original Mbh.[2] An attempt is here made to show on the strength of the internal and external evidence that the very Dv. episode did not form part of the original Mbh. and that it was later on introduced with the object of depicting the Kauravas in the worst light possible for satisfying the audience whose sympathies always went with the Pāṇḍavas, and further developed in the cause of Kṛṣṇa-cult.

4. A clear reference to Dv. and the supply of garments in a miraculous way appears in the verses 40 and 41 (Crit. ed.), while the verses 42 and 48 make a secondary reference to the miracle. The intervening verses 43-47 refer to Bhīma's vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana, which is the logical sequence of the Dv. described in the preceding verses. It will be shown later on that the vow of Bhīma, also, did not appear in the original Mbh.

5. It was pointed out long ago by the late Mr. Utgikar,[3] who examined fourteen Mss. of the Sabhā Parvan, that the vv. 40-45 of the 68th ch. of the Vulgate are omitted in certain Mss. There is, however, some discrepancy in his statements, when he mentions the vv. 41-45 (and not 40-45 as previously done) in the tabular statement in the Appendix II.[4] It is not possible to decide at present which of the two statements is correct. If the first statement (vv. 40 to 45) is accurate, the primary reference to the Dv. (vv. 40-41, Cri. ed.) becomes impossible, and the interpolated nature of the Dv. is proved beyond doubt. If it is presumed that the second statement

1. Annals, BORI., Vol. II, pp. 164-165.

2. Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan, Introduction, pp. XXVIII, XXIX.

3. 'Our Mahābhārata work', Annals BORI. Vol. II, pp. 155-188.

4. Ibid, p. 187.

(vv. 41-45) is reliable, a part of the primary reference to the Dv. has to be eliminated from the text. (41-a of the Vulgate= 41-ab of the Crit. ed.) The problem, therefore, remains moot. It is necessary to turn to some other strong evidence, which is fortunately available.

6. There is a dialogue between Dhṛtarāṣṭra and Sañjaya in the Mbh. I. 1. The blind king narrates the events of the whole epic in the famous Anukramaṇī Parvan. He refers to all important events in a regular order but does not allude to Dv. The footnote in the Critical ed. of the Ādi Parvan gives a verse referring to the Dv.,[1] found in the Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed., but not in the Madras ed. There is also, a significant omission of Bhīma's vow of drinking Duḥśāsana's blood from Dhṛtarāṣṭra's description. The Madras ed. agrees with the Critical ed. even in this respect. The Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed., however, contain a verse referring to the vow of Bhīma, and this verse is put in the footnote of the Critical ed.[2] There is one more verse in the footnote[3] mentioning the same topic, but is not found in the Vulgate, the Madras ed. and the Kumbh. ed. The footnotes in the Critical ed. clearly show how the Anukramaṇī Parvan has directly varied with the Mbh. At any rate it is quite obvious that in the earlier stage in the history of the Mbh. text, there were no Dv. episode and the vow of Bhīma to drink Duḥśāsana's blood. That Bhīma's vow is a later addition is wonderfully supported by the omission of the event from the summary of the Karṇa Parvan given in the well-known Parva-saṅgraha Parvan.[4] The Madras ed. agrees with the Critical ed. The footnote in the Critical ed. mentions a verse referring to Bhīma's vow,[5] and this verse is found in the Vulgate and the Kumbh. ed. The dynamic nature of the Parva-saṅgraha Parvan, also, is quite evident from the footnotes in the Critical ed.

7. There is another evidence in the Udyoga Parvan of the Mbh. (Critical ed.) showing that the Dv. episode is a late interpolation. At the instance of Dhṛtarāṣṭra, Sañjaya approaches the Pāṇḍavas and dissuades them from fighting, on

1. p. 17, 40.*
2. p. 23, 54.*
3. p. 23, 55.*
4. Mbh. I. 2. 169-172 (pp. 52-53).
5. pp. 52-53, 152.*

philosophical grounds. Kṛṣṇa is annoyed at the sermon of Sañjaya and draws his attention to the atrocities committed by the Kauravas.[1] There is a bare reference to Duḥśāsana bringing Draupadī to the hall but there is no mention of Dv. and catching hold of her hair in Kṛṣṇa's retort to Sañjaya.[2] Later on,[3] Yudhiṣṭhira, also, rebukes Sañjaya and enumerates all heinous offences perpetrated by the Kauravas. Here also, as before, there is no reference to Dv., but there is an allusion to Duḥśāsana's seizing Draupadī's hair only.[4] These are the two occasions where Kṛṣṇa and Yudhiṣṭhira are expected to make a reference to the Dv., if it were a fact at all. The omission of the Dv. event is most significant, and is quite sufficient to prove that the Dv. episode was not part of the original Mbh.

8. Further, the Karṇa Parvan of the Mbh. (Citraśālā Press ed.) furnishes us with additional evidence. During fighting, the wheel of Karṇa's chariot sinks in the mud, and Karṇa requests Arjuna not to commence fight, on the ground of military code. (Ch. 90). At that time Kṛṣṇa criticises Karṇa (Ch. 91) for his hypocrisy, and reminding him of his immoral conduct in the past refers to Duḥśāsana's bringing Draupadī to the assembly-hall, but does not mention the removal of Draupadī's garment, and even the seizure of her hair.[5] Had the Dv. been a fact, a reference to it on such an occasion was necessary, nay, inevitable. Kṛṣṇa's silence on this point is, by itself, an adequate piece of evidence in support of the interpolated nature of the Dv. episode.

9. The same Parvan, again, furnishes another evidence also. In the Ch. 83, there is a dialogue between Bhīma and Duḥśāsana, before Bhīma fulfils his vow of drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana. In two places, Bhīma refers to Duḥśāsana dragging the hair of Draupadī, but is wonderfully silent on the removal of her garment[6]. Duḥśāsana in reply to Bhīma refers in a boasting manner to his act of dragging Draupadī's hair,

1. Mbh. V. 29.
2. Mbh. V. 29. 30-33.
3. Mbh. V. 31.
4. Mbh. V. 31. 13-16.
5. Mbh. VIII. 91. 2-8.
6. Mbh. VIII. 83, 20, 21, 46, 48.

but not to that of stripping her of her clothes.[1] If Draupadī's garment was actually removed by Duḥśāsana, it is most unnatural for both Bhīma and Duḥśāsana not to refer to it in the circumstances. The silence on the part of excited Bhīma and arrogant Duḥśāsana, regarding the Dv. episode, naturally leads one to believe that there was nothing of the type in the original Mbh. The episode of Bhīma drinking the blood of Duḥśāsana is, as shown before, a later development; and even this later interpolation does not refer to the Dv.—a feature which naturally raises suspicion about the authenticity of the Dv. episode.

10. There is, however, one place in the Karṇa Parvan where there is a reference to both the dragging of Draupadī's hair and the removal of her garment by Duhśāsana.[2] Bhīma recollects these two crimes of Duḥśāsana, besides other persecutions, is extremely provoked and makes a fiery speeeh. The verse appears in the Kumbh. ed. also (VIII, 85, 17). I am informed by Dr. P. L. Vaidya, preparing the critical edition of the Karṇa Parva, that the the verse (Ch. 83, 15) mentioning the removal of Draupadī's garment is an interpolation, and as such, does not form part of the text in the Critical edition. It may be noted here that the Madras ed. of the Karṇa Parvan does not contain the verse. It is, therefore, permissible to suppose that the verse did not appear in the original Mbh. These are all the cross references in the Mbh., which do not make any reference to the Dv., even when they are expected to do so; and there is not a single cross-reference to the Dv. in the Mbh.—a fact which proves, beyond doubt, that the Dv. did not form part of the original Mbh. and that it was subsequently added and enlarged from time to time.

11. There are, again, two more places in the Mbh. where one would naturally expect a reference to the removal of Draupadī's garment, if at all it was a fact. The first case is in the Āraṇyaka Parvan. When Kṛṣṇa goes to see the Pāṇḍavas in the forest, Draupadī cannot help enumerating all sorts of harassment by the Kauravas, and mentions her seizure by hair (Ch. 13, v. 108, Crit. ed.), but does not refer to the removal of her garment. The other case occurs in the Śalya Parvan, Ch. 31, (Citraśālā Press ed.). When Duryo-

1. Mbh. VIII. 83, 24.
2. Mbh. VIII. 83, 15.

dhana entered the Dvaipāyana lake and refused to fight, Yudhiṣṭhira, under instructions from Kṛṣṇa, goaded Duryodhana to fight, and remarked that he had no business to live as he committed a series of heinous offences. Yudhiṣṭhira, then, mentions the crimes of Duryodhana and refers to his dragging Draupadī (v. 71), but does not allude to the removal of her garment. The omission of the removal of Draupadī's garment even on these two occasions is very significant, and strengthens the view that the whole episode is a later interpolation.

12. Besides the internal evidence, there is also some external evidence in support of our theory. The Bhāgavata Purāṇa (Bh) is clearly a work glorifying Kṛṣṇa as the highest divinity, the lord of Vraja and dear to Gopīs. There are in the Bh. altogether four references to the actions of Duḥśāsana which mention only the seizure of Draupadī's hair and are wonderfully silent on the Dv.[1] It has been shown that the Dv. episode was developed with Draupadī's fervent appeal to Kṛṣṇa, the lord of Vraja and dear to Gopīs, with the purpose of magnifying the personality of Kṛṣṇa. One would naturally expect the Bh., a work purely Kṛṣṇaite in nature, to refer to the Dv. episode with an appeal to Kṛṣṇa. But the omission from the Bh. is most significant, and shows that the Dv. episode did not appear in the original Mbh.

13. Even in the classical Sanskrit literature, happily, a piece of evidence is available. Bhāsa's drama, Dūtavākya (Act I) refers to a canvas where Duḥśāsana is painted as dragging the hair of Draupadī. In all, there are three references to this painting, two by Duryodhana and one by Kṛṣṇa. Duryodhana once refers to the dragging of both hair and garment, but later on refers to the dragging of hair only. Kṛṣṇa while seeing the portrait rejects it on the ground that it is indecent as there is the dragging of Draupadī's hair. Kṛṣṇa's remark does not refer to Draupadī's garment. The omission of the garment even from Kṛṣṇa's speech is very significant and naturally raises the suspicion with regard to the genuineness of the Dv. episode in the Mbh. In the third alone there is reference to both hair and garment as against the two references to hair only; but here the word *ambara* in the compound *Keśāmbara* may be an interpolation; or the

1. Bhāgavata Purāṇa I. 86; 15-10; III. 1.7; XI. 1.2.

compound word may be explained as 'the garment over the hair or head' of Draupadī, in which case the complete stripping of Draupadī's garment is not intended. It is, therefore, quite possible that the Mbh. as known to Bhāsa (4th century B.C.) did not contain any reference to the Dv. episode.

14. There are, again, other considerations which lend support to what has been stated above. The first point that draws our attention is the element of miracle in the appearance of one garment after another when the only piece of cloth on the body of Draupadī was being removed by Duḥśāsana. This feature is retained in the shortest account of the Dv., in the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan. The learned editor, Prof. Edgerton, describes the feature as cosmic justice which automatically or magically prevented the chaste and noble Draupadī from being stripped in public.[1] This interpretation of Prof. Edgerton is, no doubt, ingenious, and does full justice to the poetic genius of the redactors of the Mbh. But the question that naturally arises is whether such a miracle actually took place in the assembly hall. One is inclined to think that such miracles belong to the province of fiction and not to that of history; and if this is correct—and it seems to be correct—, the Dv. episode has to be marked as a later interpolation coming from some poetic brain of a subsequent period.

15. Another point which raises suspicion about the Dv. episode is the presentation of two conflicting versions put side by side even in the Critical ed. of the Sabhā Parvan (Ch. 60). When Draupadī was lost in gambling, Duryodhana sent his servant to bring her to his own palace. The servant conveyed the message to Draupadī who raised a legal issue which compelled him to return to Duryodhana. Duryodhana again asked the servant to go to Draupadī once more with the instruction that she should plead her cause in person in the assembly hall. The servant again went to Draupadī and delivered the message of Duryodhana, whereupon Draupadī expressed her full confidence in Dharma which was expected to stand by her (vv. 11-13). Immediately after this, there appear two verses (14-15) to the effect that Yudhiṣṭhira, knowing the mind of Duryodhana, sent a trusted servant to Drau-

1. Sabhā Parvan, Intro. p. XXIX.

padī and the latter came into the assembly and stood before her father-in-law. The verses (16 ff.) that immediately follow tell a different story, according to which Duryodhana, again, addressed his servant, the Prātikāmin, asking him to bring Draupadī and when he hesitated, asked Duḥśāsana to do so, and the latter carried out the order most willingly.

16. All these verses clearly show three conflicting versions, *viz.*, the Prātikāmin, again, going to Draupadī, (2) Yudhiṣṭhira sending his own servant to Draupadī and Draupadī appearing in the hall, and (3) Duryodhana sending Duḥśāsana to Draupadī when the Prātikāmin was unwilling, and Duḥśāsana dragging Draupadī by the hair to the hall.[1] The first version is evidently incomplete, and an attempt has been made by later redactors to make it complete and bring it in line with the third version, by the insertion of additional verses which are put in the foot-note in the Critical ed.,[2] and which are found in the Vulgate. The discord between the first and the third version is thus removed. There is, then, the question of the version No. 2 and the version No, 3, which are clearly at variance. Both of them could not have formed part of the original epic. One of the two versions has, therefore, to be taken as original, and the other as a later development. It appears that the shorter and natural account found in the version No. 2 is earlier than the elaborate account in the version No. 3. In that case, Duḥśāsana dragging Draupadī to the hall and later on outraging her modesty could not have been a matter of history; and consequently the Dv. episode must have been introduced in the epic at a later stage.

17. The last point for consideration is the society in the times of the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas. The only evidence that is available is literary, and that too is scanty. In the Rāmāyaṇa, Rāvaṇa kidnapped Sītā but did not make any attempt to outrage her modesty during her stay in Laṅkā and this shows some culture even on the part of Rāvaṇa, the villain of the sister epic. The literature ranging from the Brāhmans to the Śūdras does not show the moral deterioration which could have made the conduct such as that of Duḥśāsana quite normal. It appears that the society of the Pāṇḍava-Kaurava period was not so depraved as to make Duḥśāsana's

1. ibid. Intro. pp. XXXI—XXXII.
2. Sabhā Parvan pp. 293-294, 531-534.*

action possible. At any rate the moral standard of the Kṣatriyas at the time of the Bhārata battle was far from being low. And this would not leave any scope for the most abominable action of removing the garment of Draupadī by Duḥśāsana in the original epic, which was in all probability a work of pure history.

18. The examination of the whole evidence available in connection with the Dv. episode, thus, leads us to the irresistible conclusion that the Dv. episode did not form part of the original epic and that it was introduced later on by the redactors of the epic, with motives too well-known. A careful study of the critical edition of the Mbh. and the most valuable foot-notes and the appendices therein, make it possible to find out the several stages in the development of the Dv. episode.

THE HADRIAN'S WALL IN ROMAN BRITAIN— AN IMPRESSIVE RITUAL

BY

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Archaeology is a living science, a throbbing ritual and a happy remembrancer of the glorious past of any country and time. It is so in India, but it is indeed of a very impressive and colourful nature in Great Britain where I had recently occasions to study the archaeology of Great Britain and its monuments. The study of Romano-Buddhist-Art is of everlasting interest to the Indian and to the student of Buddhist Art. A tour to the roman sites and excavations in Great Britain helps one to appreciate Roman art on one side and Roman Military and Frontier system on the other.

Mention may be made here of the following Roman sites and Excavations in Britain which I had the fortune to visit:—

1. Silchester Roman wall, near Reading.
2. Regnum (Chichester), Sussex.
3. Verulamium, near St. Albans (Roman cemetery, Theatre, Temple, Forum, Baths, Walls, Gates etc.)
4. Uriconium, at Wroxeter (Rome Street, Basilica, Baths etc.).
5. Roman town of Ratae Coritanorum, Leicester, (Roman Forum, Jewry Hall and Roman pavement.)
6. Roman Legionary Fortress at Caerleon (*Isca*), Monmouthshire, Wales. The Roman Amphitheatre and Military dwellings.
7. Caervent (*Venta Silvrum*), Monmouthshire, Wales.
8. Kanovium, Caerhun Caernarvonshire Wales, Roman Fort.
9. Hadrian's Wall, Northumberland and Cumberland, England.

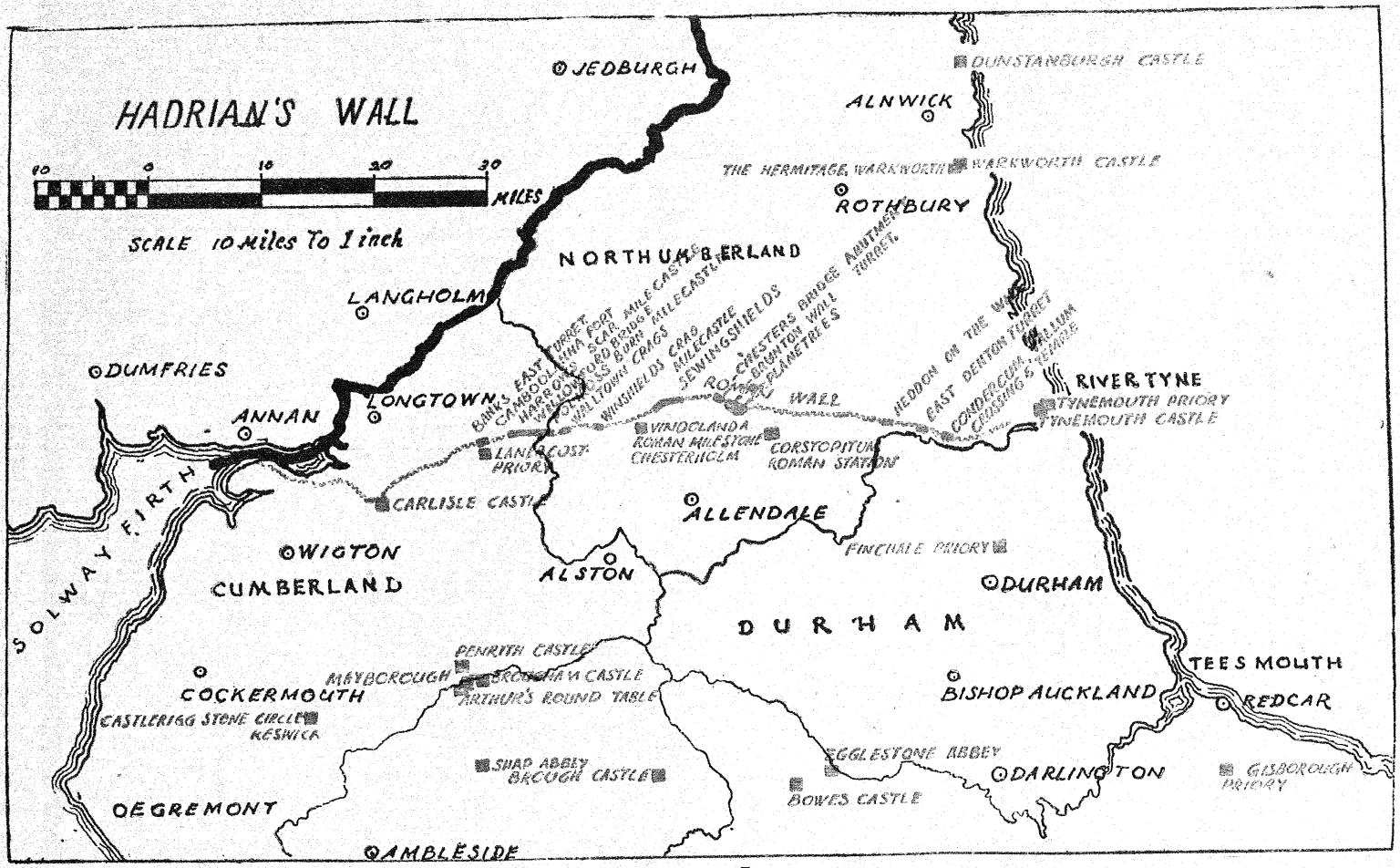
The Hadrian's Wall has an individual attraction of its own not only for its architecture and original purpose but also for the manner in which it is visited and appreciated by the modern tourist and the modern Britisher. It is indeed a ritual, an impressive relic of the Roman Frontier system which is re-

called and kept evergreen in human memory. This ritual is being described here as I am sure it will interest Indian readers both by its utility and novelty.

In the first week of July, 1949, the Society of Antiquarians of New Castle-upon-Tyne and the Antiquarian and Archaeological Society of Cumberland and Westmorland organised a centenary 'Pilgrimage of Hadrian's wall'. The centenary is that of the first Antiquarian Pilgrimage along the wall organised in June, 1849, under J.G. Bruce, the celebrated author of a "Handbook to the Roman wall". I was told that the centenary Pilgrimage of 1949 was the 7th of its kind and that since 1849 there were five such pilgrimages held in 1886, 1896, 1904, 1920 and 1930 respectively. The present tour was participated by all lovers of Archaeology who walked along Hadrian's Wall and this event was followed by a Congress of Roman Frontier Studies held at New Castle between July 11 and 14, 1949.

What is this ritual and what does the tour signify? To answer this one must read the history of the Roman conquest of Britain and Roman Frontier system which followed the conquest. The Hadrian's Wall is perhaps the most familiar British Archaeological monument after the *Stonehenge*. The character, extent and history of this wall are now briefly stated. Though the Great Roman Emperor Julius Caesar invaded Britain in in 55 B.C., it was left to Emperor Claudius to inaugurate the conquest of Britain in A.D. 43. It was this conquest which Claudius commenced that left permanent marks upon the face of Britain. The North was not affected for some years, and it was Julius Agricola, Governor of Britain from about 77 to 85, who conquered Northern England and Southern Scotland, building forts and roads, one of the latter being the Stanegate, which ran by Corbridge on the Tyne in Northumberland to Carlisle. The Scottish conquest was incomplete and uneasy, and when the Emperor Hadrian visited Britain in 122 A.D., he decided to build a permanent frontier barrier all the way across England from the Tyne to the Solway. This came to be called the Hadrian's wall and was constructed by Aulus Platorious Nepos, who was legate of Britain from 122 to 126 A.D.

In the reign of Antoninus Pius (138-161 A.D.) the Romans advanced into Scotland and another wall was built


HADRIAN'S WALL
10 0 10 20 30
MILES
SCALE 10 Miles To 1 inch
JEDBURGH
DUNSTANBURGH CASTLE
ALNWICK
THE HERMITAGE, WARKWORTH
WARKWORTH CASTLE
ROTHBURY
NORTHUMBERLAND
LANGHOLM
DUMFRIES
ANNAN
LONGTOWN
BANKS EAST TURRET
CAMBOGLANNA FORT
HARROWS SCAR MILECASTLE
WILLOWFORD BRIDGE
HOUSESTEADS
WALTOWN CRAGS
WINSHIELDS CRAG
MILECASTLE
SEWINGSHIELDS
CHESTERS BRIDGE
BRUNTON WALL
PLANETREES
ABUTMENT TURRET
HEDDON ON THE WALL
EAST DENTON TURRET
CONDERCUM, CROSSING & TEMPLE
RIVER TYNE
TYNEMOUTH PRIORY
TYNEMOUTH CASTLE
ROMAN WALL
VINDOLANDA
ROMAN MILESTONE
CHESTERHOLM
CORSTOPITUM
ROMAN STATION
LANERCOST PRIORY
CARLISLE CASTLE
ALLENDALE
FINCHALE PRIORY
SOLWAY FIRTH
WIGTON
CUMBERLAND
ALSTON
DURHAM
DURHAM
PENRITH CASTLE
MAYBOROUGH
BROUGHAM CASTLE
ARTHUR'S ROUND TABLE
COCKERMOUTH
CASTLERIGG STONE CIRCLE
KESWICK
BISHOP AUCKLAND
TEES MOUTH
REDCAR
SHAP ABBEY
BROUGH CASTLE
EGGLESTONE ABBEY
DARLINGTON
GISBOROUGH PRIORY
BOWES CASTLE
EGREMONT
AMBLESIDE

SKETCH I

between the Forth and the Clyde. In the reign of Commodus and after his murder in 192 A.D. troubles followed and the Northern Frontier was undefended with the result that much of the wall was destroyed as well as Roman works as far South as York and Chester (*Deva*). One can notice this damage all along the Hadrian's wall. Albinus was defeated in 197 A.D. by Septimius Severus who bought off the Northern invaders. Severus repaired the wall, fought several campaigns against the Scots, though with doubtful success, and re-established the Hadrian's wall as a firm boundary. Repair-work which he started on the wall continued to outposts in the North and such work went on till 235 A.D. Severus came to be hailed almost as the builder of the Hadrian's Wall. The Wall of Hadrian thenceforward continued as a powerful bulwark—though there were some periods of trouble until 383, when Magnus Maximus led the army of Britain on to the Continent against Gratian, and the wall was either entirely evacuated or left with a mere token garrison to man it. The wall has no military history after 383 A.D. and order was kept in the district by the frontier tribes of the Lowlands.

The Hadrian's Wall was thus an important *Military work* for about 250 years. As one passes along the Wall one finds that it is not a mere wall but a group of parallel interconnecting defence-lines, the Wall itself being a defence-line, stretching from Wallsend on the East to Bowness on the Solway Firth, 12 miles west of Carlisle (see Sketch 1). Wallsend is 3 miles East of New Castle. The total length of the wall is 73½ miles. The defence lines display a fortification system which consists primarily of a stone wall, originally 15 ft. high, with a rampart walk on top protected by a parapet which brought the whole up to 20 ft. Its maximum thickness is about 9 ft. 6 in. In front, that is to the north, of it is a wide and deep V-shaped ditch, except in those places where the wall stands on the edge of a precipitous crag. The construction of the Wall varies slightly in its different lengths, and west of the river Irthing, where the limestone ceases, it was originally built of turf, which was later replaced by stone.

Three types of buildings are associated with the Wall at almost regular intervals. The *first type* which were the largest, were *forts* 3 to 7 miles apart which generally projected beyond the Wall. They held garrisons of 500 to 1,000 cavalrymen or infantry. Secondly, at every Roman mile

(=1618 yards) there was a "Block House" or "Mile Castle" holding about 40 men. These "Block Houses" had no projection on the north side but were similar to the forts of the first type in that they had gateways opening northwards. This proves that the Hadrian's Wall was at once a defence-line as well as a base for offensives against the enemy. The third type of buildings associated with the wall consists of *turrets*. Between each pair of block houses were two turrets about 540 yards apart. The turrets were obviously "Watch Towers" used for signalling messages along the wall. Behind these works and connecting them ran a service road, now called the *Military way*. At varying distances, but normally about 60 or 80 yards to the south of the stone wall, came the earthwork which has been called the *Vallum*. In its original state it was some 120 ft. across, and its central strand, is a ditch, 20 ft. wide and 10 ft. deep, with a flat area eight feet across at the bottom. Thirty feet away on each side of the ditch, and parallel with it, is a mound 20 ft. wide—so that the *Vallum* consists of five strands which, from north to south, are mound, level, ditch, level, and mound. It was intended to be, a non-military boundary policed by military patrols, a demarcation as opposed to a defence. It is the southern boundary of the military zone. South of the *Vallum*, again, runs *Stanegate*, connected by supply roads to the forts of the wall. Thus the Hadrian's wall started and ended at sea level and rose in its central sector at Winshields to 1,230 ft. Its course can still be traced and in the higher and wilder areas it stands forth to-day as William Camden described it in the 16th Century, "Verily I have seen the tract of it over the high pitches and steepe descents of hilles, wonderfully rising and falling." The Wall is not now as it was in Roman times. In parts it is only visible to the eye of archaeological faith. Little of it remains at Wallsend—where the site of *Sepedunum*, the most easterly of the Wall forts, is occupied by a ship-building yard —or in Newcastle and its suburbs.

Westwards of Newcastle, though subsidiary works, especially the Vallum, are often visible, the Wall itself lies under the main Carlisle road until just east of the crossing of the North Tyne about four miles north of Hexham. A little to the west of this point the road diverges from the Wall, which then runs for some 12 miles through wild country, along the northern edge of the steep whinstone escarpment known as the

Great Whin Sill. This is where the Wall is most complete and most impressive.

Even here, however, the Wall is to-day less than half its original height, seldom rising above 6 ft.; yet its line with "mile-castle" and "turrets" and the fort of *Borcovicium* (which now belongs to the National Trust), is plain to see. After crossing the Irthing near Gilsland both the original turf wall and the stone wall which replaced it are visible for some two miles. Beyond that the Wall passes through the densely populated parts of Cumberland, and again becomes a subject for archaeological investigation.

The British Ministry of works have now charge of the "Roman Wall and Vallum Preservation Scheme", begun in 1938 and confirmed in 1943. This scheme takes in the central sector from near Chesters on the North Tyne almost to Carvoran foot, a little to the east of Gilsland, and the land immediately adjoining. Moreover, the whole of the Wall and its subsidiary works are scheduled as "ancient monuments", and a number of particular sites are under the charge of the Ancient Monuments Division of the Ministry of Works. These include several *mile-castles, turrets,* and stretches of wall; the Roman town of *Corstorpitum,* near Corbridge, which acted as supply base for much of the eastern half of the Wall; and the fort of *Vindolanda,* on the Stanegate 10 miles west of Hexham, which was not one of the actual Wall forts, but a supporting fort which may have been a kind of divisional headquarters.

A serious threat to the Wall was noticed in recent years by large scale quarrying. To most Archaeologists in India this is a familiar sight by the side of Indian monuments. It was explained to me in Newcastle that some 20 years ago quarrying became active and that during the second World-War, when a sudden immediate need for whinstone arose, which could not easily be obtained elsewhere, several hundred yards of the Wall were allowed to suffer destruction. Thanks to prompt Government action, this danger no longer exists. I was amused to hear that one of the charges that the Ancient Monuments Branch of the British Ministry of Works had to answer was that in their zeal to preserve the Hadrian's Wall, they were robbing willing workers of their employment by not permitting the stones to be removed for other constructions. I may mention in passing that the quarriers of stone near the

cave temples of Vijayawada (Madras Province), hold out a similar charge against the Department of Archaeology, though it is well known that stone quarrying near Vijayawada has damaged some cave monuments *e.g.*, the *Śiva Tāṇḍava* Cave near Mogul-Rajapuram).

To most of the Archaeologists and pilgrims that joined the tour of Hadrian's Wall in July 1949, it was an intellectual and emotional treat, an experience of contemplating "the greatest and most impressive relic of the Roman Frontier System of Britain". India has a rich heritage; her monuments are varied and many. And many more are the votaries and devotees of her art treasure-houses. Shall we have such tours to our monuments regularly?—is my pious hope.

KING HARIRĀJA OF BUNDELKHAND

BY

DR. DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR, *Ootacamund.*

The village of Ichchhāwar (popularly called Nichchhāwar) in the Banda District of the Uttar Pradesh is believed to mark the site of an ancient town in Bundelkhand. In *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LXIV, 1895, part i, pp. 159 ff., V. A. Smith and W. Hoey published an account of three early brass (or *ashṭa-dhātu*) statuettes of the Buddha, which had been found in the ruins of Dhanesar Kherā to the west of the above village and were purchased by Hoey. The ruins of Dhanesar Kherā no doubt point to the existence of a great Buddhist establishment in that locality in the fourth and fifth centuries A. D. Two of the three images referred to were found to bear small inscriptions on the pedestal. Both the inscriptions were read and interpreted by Smith and Hoey. One of the inscriptions says that the image, on which it is engraved, was the *deyadharma* (meritorious gift) of an *upāsikā* (a female lay follower of Buddhism) whose name was read as Vedikā. The eye-copy (Plate IX), published along with the paper by Smith and Hoey, is, however, not satisfactory enough to verify the reading of the *upāsikā's* name. The other inscription, which is more interesting, can fortunately be clearly read from the eye-copy (*loc. cit*). The inscription can be assigned to a date about the beginning of the fifth century A. D. on palaeographic grounds. It says that the image in question was the meritorious gift of Mahādevī, the queen of Harirāja who was born in the Gupta family. The name of Harirāja was, however, wrongly read as *Hariḍāsa* by Smith and Hoey.

The text of the inscription in two lines runs as follows:

1. Deya-dharmmo-ya[ṁ*] Gupta-vaṅś-o(vaṁś-o)ditaśrī-Harirājasya ra(rā)jñī(jñyā) Mahādevyā [ḥ] (‖*) yad-attra puṇya [ṁ*] tad-bhavatu

2. sa [rvva]-sa[tvānā][ṁ*] māta(tā)-pitṛi-pū[rvva ṅgama(me)na anuttara-pada-jñāna(nā)vāptaye(‖*)

Translation: "This (*i.e.* the image of the Buddha on which the record is incised) is the meritorious gift of Mahādevī who

is the queen of the illustrious Harirāja, born in the Gupta family; whatever religious merit there is in it, let it be for the attainment of the supreme position and knowledge of all sentient beings headed by the parents (of the queen)".

Little is known about this Harirāja, who was no doubt a ruler probably of the Banda area, from any other source. He seems to have claimed descent from the imperial Guptas of Magadha—whose dominions included Bundelkhand since the conquest of Central India by Samudragupta about the middle of the fourth century. We know that, from the time of the assumption of imperial dignity by Chandragupta I (about 320 A. D.), his descendants assumed names ending with the word *gupta*. Thus, if Harirāja was a scion of the Gupta dynasty, his name is expected to have been Harigupta. But we also know that the second name of Chandragupta II is given as both Devagupta and Devarāja (*Select Inscriptions*, pp. 273-420). The name *Harirāja* therefore does not go against the ruler being a scion of the imperial Gupta house, although he may also have claimed descent from the Guptas through his mother. The Guptas were staunch Brahmanists. Harirāja's wife was no doubt a Buddhist; but the king himself may have been a follower of the Brahmanical faith. We have numerous other instances of a marriage between the followers of Buddhism and Brahmanism.

Harirāja of the Ichchhāwar inscription apparently ruled over the Banda region in Bundelkhand as a viceroy of the Gupta emperor of Pāṭaliputra. The overlord of Harirāja may have been either Chandragupta II Vikramāditya (A.D. 376-414) or the latter's son Kumāragupta I Mahendrāditya (A.D. 414-55). It appears that his headquarters lay at the ancient city, the modern representative of which is the village of Ichchhāwar, findspot of the inscription under notice.

The Nachne-ki-talai and Ganj inscriptions (Bhandarkar, *List*, Nos. 1709-10) show that Bundelkhand formed a part of the Vākāṭaka empire and was under the rule of Vyāghrarāja, feudatory or viceroy of Pṛithivīsena I. The Vākāṭaka monarch Prithvīsena I, was a contemporary of Samudragupta and Chandragupta II, as his son Rudrasena II is known to have married Prabhāvatī, daughter of Chandragupta II. The find of the Eran (Saugor District, Madhya Pradesh) stone pillar inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1539) of Samudragupta as

well as the details of the conquests of this Gupta monarch in Central India as known from his Allahabad pillar inscription (*ibid.*, No. 1538) suggest that Vākāṭaka rule in Bundelkhand was overthrown by Samudragupta himself. It is thus possible to think Samudragupta extirpated the house of Vyāghrarāja, subordinate to the Vākāṭakas, and established a member of his own family in Bundelkhand and that Harirāja of the Ichchhāwar inscription was a scion of this viceregal Gupta house of Bundelkhand.

PAṄKTIPURA

BY

DR. G. S. GAI, *Dharwar.*

Dr. H. D. Sankalia has edited an interesting copper-plate inscription of the king Ravivarman of the imperial dynasty of the Kadambas.[1] The grant, which is dated in the 12th year of the king's reign, is stated to have been issued from *Vijaya-Paṅktipura.* About this place-name the editor of the above article remarks: "Most noteworthy is the name of the place whence the grant is issued. It is called Vijayapaṅktipura. If this were to be identified with Vaijayantī or Banavāsi of the earlier or contemporary inscriptions it would be an unheard of and totally new name of that place. Could it be another name of Vijayapura, which occurs only once in an inscription from Amarāvati? As far as Kadamba inscriptions are concerned, Vaijayantī is mentioned 9 times, usually as Vijaya-Vaijayantī and thrice in the records of Ravivarmā himself. So probably Vijaya-paṅktipura might be another form of Vaijyantī."[2]

It may be pointed out that as in the case of *Vijaya-Vaijayantī*, so also in *Vijaya-Panktipura*, the word *Vijaya* qualifies the following word which gives the place-name and means victorious *Paṅktipura.* This is the most common style to be found in the copper-plate grants and the locative case in *Vijaya-Paṅktipure* corresponds with that in *Vijaya-Vaijayanīyām.* This locative may give the sense of the ablative case and the expression means 'from the victorious *Vaijayantī* or from the victorious *Paṅktipura*, etc.', since many instances are found with the fifth case suffix. (*cf.* also the expression *Vijaya-skandhāvārāt* met with in several records).

As regards the identification of the place *Paṅktipura*, it may be said that this name appears in the form of *Pāntipura*, or *Pāṇthipura* in later records[3] and Pānthipura has been identified with the area including and roundabout modern

1. *New. Ind. Ant.*, Vol. IV. pp. 178-81.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
3. *Ind. Ant.*, Vol. X, p. 251.

Hangal in Dharwar District, which was known to be the capital of the branch of the Kadambas of Hangal. In this connection, it is important to note that a copper-plate grant of the early Kadamba king Kṛishṇavarman II, (discovered at Akki-Ālūr, a village near Hangal) registers the gift of the village *Kiṛukuppudūr* situated in the *Vishaya*, which has been read as *Pāntipura*, by Sri R. S. Panchamukhi, the editor of the plates.[4] An examination of the printed Facsimile as well as of the original plates would show that the name of this *Vishaya* has to be read as Pamktipura and not as Pantipura, the consonant cluster being *kt* instead of *nt*,[5] while there is an *anusvāra* above *pā*. This *Paṅktipura* is evidently the same as *Paṅktipura* of the grant of Ravivarman which, as stated above, has to be identified with the area comprising modern Hangal in Dharwar District and not with the Vaijayantī (modern Banavāsi), the erstwhile capital of the main branch of the early Kadambas.

4. Digest of An. Rep. on Kan. Res. in Bombay Province, 1940-41, p. 5 and text.

5. I am indebted to Sri Panchamukhi for having showed me the original plates which enabled me to confirm my reading. For the difference between *nt* and *kt*, see the words *sāmanta, śāntāya* in lines 6 and 8, and the words *sayukto, uktañca* in line 13 of the text of the same inscription.

I am also obliged to Dr. Sankalia who gave me an offprint of his paper which stimulated my interest in the subject discussed above.

EARLY REFERENCE TO ŚĀLIVĀHANA AND THE ŚAKA ERA

by

DR. G. S, GAI, *Dharwar*

In my article on *Śālivāhana and the Śaka Era* published in Vol. XVII, pp. 92-3 of this Journal, I have pointed out that the earliest instance of the use of the name *Śālivāhana* in connection with the *Śaka* era is furnished by the Tasgaon plates of the Deogiri Yadava king Kṛṣṇa, dated in *Śaka* 1172 or 1251 A.C., as against the date *Śaka* 1276 or 1354 A.C. of the Harihar copper-plate grant of Bukkarāya I referred to by Fleet and Prof. Mirashi. During my recent studies, however, I have come across a still earlier instance of this use which is furnished not by an epigraphical record but by a literary work. This work is called *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* written by the poet Somarāja in Kannaḍa language.[1] It is surmised that this poet hails from some part of western India. His work relates to the description of the hero Udbhaṭadēva *alias* Kumārapāla Ghūrjara who is sought to be identified with the Gujarat Chalukya king Kumārapāla who was the successor of Jayasiṁha Siddharāja and who is known to have ruled from 1144-1174 A. C.[2] In this *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* the poet informs us that he composed his work when 1144 years of the era known as *Śālivāhana Śaka* had elapsed. So we get here the name *Śālivāhana* connected with the Śaka era and the English equivalent of the date would be 1222 A. C., *i.e.* about 30 years earlier than the date of Tasgaon plates (1251 A. C.) referred to above. Thus *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* of Somarāja which is assigned to the year 1222 A. C. affords the earliest instance of the use of *Śālivāhana* coupled with *Śaka* era in a date known so far. It must, however, be noted that while the earliest instance is furnished by this literary work, the Tasgaon plates supply the earliest epigraphical reference.[3]

1. Edited by R. Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1921.
2. The Glory that was Gūrjaradēśa, part III, p. 183.
3. It may be interesting to note that while the Tasgaon plates give the name of *Śālivāhana* and the *Śaka* era in the very first verse of the record, the *Udbhaṭakāvyaṁ* of Sōmarāja uses this name in the very last verse of the work. And both the verses referred to are in *Śārdūlavikrīḍita* metre.

THE THREE RECENSIONS OF THE VĀLMĪKI RĀMĀYAṆA

Addenda and Corrigenda

by

C. BULCKE, S. J., RANCHI

In my article of the above title in J.O.R., Madras, XVII. i. pp. 1—32, the following additions and corrections may be noted:

Bāla Kāṇḍa. C. Other Differences. Add—

1. The Bengali recension (Cf. sarga 10), as well as the North-Western recension (Cf. sarga 9), clearly state that Daśaratha gave his own daughter Śāntā to childless Lomapāda. The Southern recension describes Romapāda as related by *sakhya* and *sambandhaka* with Daśaratha (Cf. sarga 11, verse 17); the word *sambandhaka* may possibly be an allusion to Daśaratha's gift. But if we have to judge from the Southern recension, only Śāntā has to be considered the daughter of Romapāda, because the word *sambandhaka* can mean friend and does not necessarily mean relation. Elsewhere in the Southern recension Śāntā is mentioned as the daughter of Romapāda (Cf. sarga 9, verse 16).

2. The Northern recensions consider Bharata to be junior to Lakṣmaṇa (Cf. B. I, 19, 10) whereas the Southern recension holds that Lakṣmaṇa is junior to Bharata. There is, however, one passage in the Southern recension which seems to imply that Bharata was junior to Lakṣmaṇa; viz. where Bharata greets Rama and Lakṣmaṇa after the defeat of Rāvaṇa (Cf. VI, 12, 41).

No 68. (End) Delete: "that his name was formerly Tumburu and".

No 103. Add: In the Southern recension Hanumān meets Maināka, Surasā and Siṁhikā. In the Nothern recensions the sequence is Surasā, Maināka and Siṁhikā.

THE KUPPUSWAMI SASTRI RESEARCH INSTITUTE

I

Sixth Foundation Day

The Sixth Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute was celebrated in the grounds of the Madras Sanskrit College, Mylapore, on Saturday, 19th August 1950, with the Hon'ble Mr. Justice M. Patanjali Sastri, Judge, Supreme Court, in the chair.

After Prayer, Dr. V. Raghavan read messages received for the success of the function from the Vishveshwaranand Vedic Research Institute, E. Punjab; Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, Bombay; Ecole Francaise d' Extreme-Orient, Hanoi, Indo-China; Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Institute, Tirupati; Sri P. Tirugnanasambandham, Principal, Rajah's College of Sanskrit and Tamil Studies, Tiruvadi; Sri M. Lakshminarasimhayya, Professor of Sanskrit, Mysore University; Mr. Khwaja Muhammad Ahmad, Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad; Dr. B. Ch. Chhabra, Government Epigraphist, Ooty; and Dr. D. C. Sircar and Sri M. Venkataramayya of the Epigraphy Department.

Report of Work:—Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the report of the working of the Institute for the year 1949-50. The full report will be published separately in the Triennial Report of the Institute.

Publication:—*The Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume.*—Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer announced that on the occasion of the Sixth Foundation Day they were publishing the Kuppuswami Sastri Memorial Volume.

Foundation Day Address:—Prof. D. S. Sarma then delivered the Foundation Day Address and spoke on Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English. In his Address, Prof. Sarma, one of the intimate friends of Kuppuswami Sastri, said:

"Whatever may be my subject, speaking on the Foundation Day of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, I cannot but refer at the outset to the personality and the work of the great scholar, after whom this institution is named—especially, as I think I have some *adhikāra* for doing so. I had the honour of being an intimate personal friend as well as a colleague of the Professor in the Presidency College for about

twenty years. And so in referring to Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastri it will be difficult for me to avoid striking a personal note. And I hope I shall be excused if sometimes I seem to be somewhat transgressing my limits.

"The Professor was, of course, an encyclopaedic scholar, whose name was wellknown in all academic circles throughout India and even abroad. Therefore the friendship between him and me was something of the nature of an intimacy between a giant and a pigmy. Nevertheless, the pigmy could take liberties with the giant, which the giant's equals or followers could never dream of doing. Even some of his old students—themselves scholars deserving the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya—used to be astonished and, at times, considerably embarrassed at the familiarity with which I spoke to the Professor, and the smiling indulgence which he always showed to me. I used to chafe him frequently for overworking himself after nightfall. For, while the Presidency College, where we worked, closed normally at 4 P.M., he used to hold his classes till six, and then meet and discuss matters with his research scholars till eight and then begin to do his office work and go home only at about 9 P.M. I used to tell him that he might profitably follow the example of some lesser men and take a walk along the beach regularly in the evenings and improve his health, instead of ruining his constitution by working till nine in the night and going to bed only after twelve. He would laugh and promise to follow my advice from the next day, but never kept his promise. The result is a great national loss.

"The Professor did not live very long after his retirement from the Annamalai University. He was only sixty-two when he passed away. If he had conserved his health and strength, he could easily have lived another ten or fifteen years, and, being freed from the routine work of teaching classes, could very well have left some enduring monuments of his great erudition. But, as it is, he did not live even to finish his edition of Dhvanyālɛka. It is only rarely that a country throws up scholars of Prof. Kuppuswami Sastriar's magnitude and versatility, for he was not only well versed in the four traditional Śāstras of Nyāya, Vyākaraṇa, Mīmāṁsā and Vedānta, but also had a profound knowledge of literature and literary criticism. Again, he not only possessed the massive learning of our Pandits, but was

also well acquainted with the critical methods of modern Western scholars. No wonder, therefore, that with his equipment he gave a mighty impetus to Sanskrit studies in our University, and has left behind him a band of scholars, who are trained in his methods and who are imbued with his ideals.

"And yet, we sadly miss his presence today, when so many misguided attempts are being made in this part of the country to belittle the importance of Sanskrit and put obstacles in the way of the younger generation acquiring a knowledge of its treasures. Had he been living now, he would have pleaded with the Government, with all the weight of his authority, to restore Sanskrit to its former place in the curriculam of our schools and would have accepted no compromise on the question. And, besides his massive learning, he had other qualifications for being a successful agitator in a good cause. He was an effective speaker in English as well as Sanskrit and was also well versed in party tactics, as is amply borne out by his campaigns in the Senate of the Madras University. And, above all, he had, to a remarkable degree, the quality of fearlessness. To him we may truly apply the words of Mahatma Gandhi,—"I fear no one on earth, I fear only God." It may be observed that his extraordinary courage and fearlessness were rooted in an important quality which formed the very basis of his character, namely, his spirit of renunciation. He once told me, while we two were sitting in the sands of the beach, that our ancients had bequeathed to us a priceless treasure, and that was the spirit of Sannyāsa, and he added that for our utilizing that bequest we need not shave our heads and put on kāṣāya. We could go about doing our humble duties as we are, but secretly clad in the celestial armour of renunciation and with our hearts free from fear. As I listened to him that night, I saw how the spirit of his Sannyāsin gurus had gone into the very marrow of his bones along with Sanskrit learning. In this connection we may remember how all the honours that came to him in life, namely, his official position, his rank, his titles and his worldly prosperity, all came to him unsought, as a just reward for his merit. He propitiated no gods—white or brown. He propitiated only the great Goddess of Learning. In fact, his whole life was one long, unbroken act of worship at the shrine of Sarasvatī.

"I said he feared no one on earth. But he had one fear always haunting his mind as a scholar, and that was the fear

of making any kind of inaccurate statement. Hence, though he had his vast knowledge at his fingers' ends, he would make himself doubly, even trebly, sure before he made a statement on any subject, and he would not mind the time spent on such careful verifications. As an illustration, I may here refer, at the risk of appearing too personal, to his revision of my translation of the Bhagavad Gītā. In 1927, after finishing my translation and making my ms. ready for the press, I casually mentioned it to my learned friend and asked him whether he could find time to go through it and suggest any improvements. To my surprise, he readily consented and took out all the commentaries on the Gītā in the Sanskrit Honours Library and asked me to meet him with my ms. every evening after seven in his room in the College. I was rather alarmed at the procedure he suggested. But there was no help for it. I had put my head into the lion's den and had to take the consequences. So I had to discuss with him, night after night, my rendering of all the 700 verses in the Gītā—he always striving for accuracy, and I for elegance and idiomatic English. I thought at first that the revision could be completed in three months at the most and that I could publish my translation before the end of the year. Actually, it took three years, and I could publish it with his approval only towards the end of 1930. The Professor rendered me similar help in connection with another book of mine—*A Primer of Hinduism*. I may say he tested almost every sentence in that book and saw that I did not swerve even by a hair's breadth from what he considered the correct doctrine. But for him, my *Primer* would have been much less orthodox and therefore much less acceptable to the Hindu public. These books of mine were not really worth his attention. They need not have consumed so much of his precious time. But he had taken me under his wings and could not brook the idea of any friend of his making any inaccurate statements, if he could help it.

"Apart from these books of mine, he was greatly interested in two of the subjects which I was then teaching in the English Honours classes, namely, Indo-Germanic Philology and English literary criticism. For he was anxious not only to be well acquainted with the critical methods of modern European scholars, but also to justify fully his official designation as Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology. For this purpose, he made a thorough study of Brugman's monumental

work on Indo-Germanic philology, and, with his extensive knowledge of Sanskrit grammar, he was in a more advantageous position, so far as the Idg. parent language was concerned, than Prof. Mark Hunter, the Head of the English Department, whose enthusiasm in those days gave a powerful stimulus to linguistic studies in our University. It is well known that the very science of Comparative Philology owes its origin to the discovery of Sanskrit by European scholars. Professor Kuppuswami Sastriar made himself so proficient in Idg. Philology with special reference to Sanskrit that, when any of our English Honours students took that subject, as an alternative to 'Special Period' in English Literature, we used to send them to him for instruction."

The further portion of Prof. Sarma's Address, which formed his valuable paper on Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English, and which, at the request of Dr. A. Sankaran, Professor of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, Presidency College, Madras, was re-delivered at the Presidency College, has been published in separate book form by the Institute.

Vidvan Purushottama Naidu, Junior Lecturer in Tamil, University of Madras, then spoke in Tamil on the religious and literary importance of *Divya Prabandham*, the sacred Vaishnava hymns, which he showed were a Tamil replica of the Upanishads.

President's Speech

Mr. Patanjali Sastri said that though his acquaintance with the late Mahāmahopādhyāya Kuppuswami Sastriar was not intimate, he knew of his scholarship. It was the opinion of Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar that the learning of the traditional pandit was defective, however profound it might be in any particular subject. His idea was that Sanskrit learning must be comprehensive and the pandit should attain mastery over all the branches of Sanskrit learning, and to that end he devised the new courses to include practically all the subjects of Sanskrit learning. He also introduced methods of criticism of the Western Indologists. That was how to-day we had the curriculum of the Siromani course in the Madras University. Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar reorganised the honours degree course and the Oriental Title course and succeeded in persuading the University of Madras to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory in the college classes, though it was altered later. If today Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar had been alive, with his zeal and

zest for Sanskrit learning, he would certainly have persuaded the educational authorities to make the study of Sanskrit compulsory even in the high school and college classes. It was an erroneous action, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, that while English, a foreign language, was made compulsory in our schools, Sanskrit in which was embedded the whole of our cultural heritage should be accorded the status of an "optional" language. It was wrong to think, he said, that Sanskrit was the language of any particular community. In Northern India, Sanskrit learning was held in very high esteem and Kayasthas and other castes had also attained proficiency in it. In Madras State itself, people on the West Coast had attained a high degree of literacy in it. As a Kayastha put it, Sanskrit and prestige went hand in hand in this country. He, therefore, urged that Sanskrit should be accorded a higher status in the educational curriculum as it was the greatest cementing force in the country. For this one reason at least, it should be made a compulsory subject of study.

Mr. Patanjali Sastri continuing said that he shared the regret expressed in the Memorial Volume that Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar had not produced learned original works. Book-making was an art and somehow, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, that we in the South seemed to be lacking in it, not merely in the sphere of Sanskrit but also in the sphere of law. While the standard of learning in Madras was high, he said, production of literary works here was meagre. The reason for Sri Kuppuswami Sastriar not producing many books was his devotion to teaching-work. A born *ācārya*, he deserved the title of "Mahāmahopādhyāya", for even those who studied under him had today each more than a hundred other disciples. Compared to other institutes in North India, the Kuppuswami Sastri Institute, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, was in its infancy, but he found from the Report that it had, even so, accomplished much. The view had been expressed that its work was hampered for want of funds. He would endorse the appeal of the Secretary for funds in this connection and hoped for a generous response.

Regarding the work of the Institute, Mr. Patanjali Sastri said that in its publications so far, attention had not been devoted to Vedic literature, as much as to classical works, the humanities, the *Kāvyas* and the *Nāṭakas*. Vedic literature,

which had been a sealed book even to most Sanskrit students, had not been adequately dealt with. In fact, that was the field of research which was vast and where workers had so far been few. He wished that some scholars belonging to this Institute would turn their attention more and more to the systematic study of the Vedas. It was also necessary to do work on the Purāṇas and Vedāṅgas. The field was vast and it called for workers with zeal and enthusiasm. What had so far been done in the field was readily attributable to Western savants. "We Indian scholars," Mr. Patanjali Sastri said, "were in a much more advantageous position to deal with the Vedas than foreign scholars, and so this work must be undertaken by us."

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar proposed a vote of thanks.

General Body Meeting

Earlier in the evening the annual General Body Meeting of the Institute was held in the premises of the Institute, Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapam.

Sri K. S. Ramaswami Sastri presided. Sri K. Balasubrahmanya Iyer presented the Annual Report and audited Statement of Accounts for 1949-50. On the motion of the chair, seconded by Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, the Report and Accounts and the Budget for the year 1950-51 were adopted.

It was resolved that the existing office-bearers be re-elected and that Sri T. K. Rajagopala Iyer, Retd. Accountant-General and Life Member of the Institute, be elected to the Governing Body.

Sri V. Swaminathan, B.A., G.D.A., was re-elected Hony. Auditor for the coming year.

II

LECTURE BY DR. S. L. HORA

On 25th September 1950, Dr. Sunder Lala Hora, Director of the Zoological Survey of India, delivered under the Institute's auspices in the Ranade Hall, Mylapore, a very interesting lecture on "Science in Ancient Indian Literature." Prof. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri was in the chair.

At the outset, a condolence resolution touching the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna of Mysore was moved from the chair.

Dr. Hora spoke about his findings in the field of Zoological knowledge of Ancient Indians, as borne out by some of

the observations in Asoka's edicts, his paper on which subject was published in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta*, XVI. i. 1950, pp. 43-56; he dealt with also his latest findings from a study of the Matsyavinoda section of King Someśvara's Abhilaṣitārthacintāmaṇi, his paper on which had been submitted to the same Journal. He touched upon also the information available in Cola inscriptions, particularly on the management of local tank fisheries, and commended to the popular Government of the day the practice of ancient kings like the Colas, who realised the value of a network of tanks and small irrigation schemes.

Sri N. Raghunatha Iyer thanked Dr. Hora for his illuminating address.

III

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA CONDOLENCE MEETING

Jointly with the Madras Samskrita Academy, the Institute held a special meeting on 18th October 1950 to express condolence on the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna of Mysore, who was chairman of the Research Committee of the Institute. Prof. P. N. Srinivasachariar presided.

Dr. V. Raghavan read a message from Dr. T. M. P. Mahadevan in which he stated that to Prof. Hiriyanna, "Philosophy was not only a view of life but also a way of life."

The Chairman said that Prof. Hiriyanna was a profound scholar in Sanskrit, Kannada and English. Though apparently conservative, he had a modern outlook. He was free from prejudices and kept an open mind always. He belonged to the rare type of introspective men. His profound scholarship was equalled only by his humility and reasonableness. He was a wise man and a true philosopher. He might be described as a "great spectator of life," and one who, while withdrawing from public life, was yet vitally interested in it. The speaker stressed the excellence of Prof. Hiriyanna's works and said that in him they found the rare combination of *Viveka, Vinaya* and love of idealism.

Prof. D. S. Sarma said the late Prof. Hiriyanna was an embodiment of the description found in the Gītā *"Vidyā-vinayasampanna"*—profound learning combined with utter humility. A very noteworthy feature of his life was the complete integration of his life and teachings. He accepted the religious tradition he had inherited and tried to re-live in

accordance with the spirit of that tradition. Prof. Sarma hoped that Prof. Hiriyanna's latest work, "Indian Philosophy of Values," would be soon published, after Dr. S. Radhakrishnan had gone through the manuscript as desired by the late Professor. Besides his translations of the Upaniṣads etc. and his original works, he had written beautiful reviews of books for "The Hindu". Prof. Sarma expressed the hope that the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute would take steps to collect and publish all his papers and reviews.

Dr. A. Sankaran said that Prof. Hiriyanna was correct and concise in his writings.

Pandit H. Sesha Iyengar who knew the Professor from his early days narrated a few anecdotes to stress the late Professor's affection towards his students and his readiness to help the poor by paying even the school-fees of some of them. One of the notable features of his scholarly life was that he went to the *Ācāryas* of the respective schools of philosophy to master their systems.

Mr. K. Balasubrahmania Aiyar said that the Madras Samskrita Academy and the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute were greatly indebted to Prof. Hiriyanna. He had bequeathed his library to the Institute and his grandson, Mr. Anantaswami Rao, would be shortly handing over the volumes to them. Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri and Prof. Hiriyanna had rendered great service to the Sanskrit world. Mr. Balasubrahmania Aiyar referred to the humility of Prof. Hiriyanna and said that he would not personally come and accept the title "*Samskrita Sevā Dhurīṇa*" which the Samskrita Academy conferred on him, and so the title had to be eventually conferred on him *in absentia*.

The gathering stood in silence and passed a resolution placing on record the deep sense of sorrow and loss sustained by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute and the Madras Samskrita Academy, and the world of Indology in general, in the demise of Prof. Hiriyanna, "one of the foremost scholars in Sanskrit and Indian Philosophy", and conveying the heartfelt sympathies of the gathering to the members of the bereaved family.

Prof. Srinivasachari endorsed the appeal of Prof. D. S. Sarma for the collection and publication of the papers and reviews written by Prof. Hiriyanna.

IV

LECTURE BY DR. H. I. POLEMAN

On 28th October 1950, Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, Cultural Attache, American Embassy, New Delhi, spoke at the Institute on "Sanskrit Studies in America." Sri N. Raghunatha Ayyar, Assistant Editor, *The Hindu*, and Member, Governing Body of the Institute, was in the chair.

In introducing Dr. Poleman to the audience, Dr. V. Raghavan, Secretary, said that the guest of the evening hailed from the country which gave to the world of Oriental Research such pioneers as Whitney, Bloomfield and Lanman. He referred to the place occupied in Indic studies by the *Harvard Oriental Series*, *Columbia University Series*, the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* and other Research publications from America. Dr. Horace Isaac Poleman, he said, was a student of Prof. Norman Brown of Pennsylvania University; he took his Doctorate in Nārāyaṇa's Antyeṣṭipaddhati, and it was interesting to note, he added, that Dr. Poleman's wife was now continuing her husband's interest in the study of Hindu Saṁskāras; she was working at Delhi now on the same Nārāyaṇa's Prayogaratna. Dr. Poleman was working in the Indian section of the Library of Congress, Washington, and recalling his association with him for over a decade, Dr. Raghavan referred to the continuous assistance that Dr. Poleman gave him in maintaining contact between the work going on in India and America in the field of bibliography, cataloguing of manuscripts, music, etc. Dr. Poleman published through *Archives Orientalia* in 1946 his review of *Middle Eastern Studies in U. S. for* 1939-46, but his most important production which Dr. Raghavan said was in constant use by him for his New Catalogus Catalogorum work, was *A Census of Indic Manuscripts in the United States and Canada*, (American Oriental Series 12), 1938, which described over 7,000 Mss. in Sanskrit and other Indian languages preserved in the different American libraries. This was the third visit of Dr. Poleman to India, his first visit being in 1939 when he popularised the microfilming of Mss., and the second being during the recent war when he collected Gramophone records in all the regional languages of India. Dr. Raghavan hoped that, as Cultural Attache to the American Embassy in India, Dr. Poleman would

promote the cause of Oriental Studies and the cultural collaboration between Indian and American scholars.

CHAIRMAN'S OPENING REMARKS

Welcoming Dr. Poleman and others, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that he was particularly happy that Mr. T. R. Venkatarama Sastri, President of the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute, was present at the function. America, he said, found India rather in a different way from how Europe found them. Europe travelled towards Sanskrit through philology and latterly, through anthropology. But America, particularly American poets, seemed to have discovered Indian culture rather intuitively. Since Emerson and Eliot, there had been a sustained stream of sympathy for Indian culture. The scholars who had taken their cue from these poets could not possibly go wrong; at any rate, that was what they in this country felt.

DR. POLEMAN'S LECTURE

Dr. Poleman observed that the study of Sanskrit in the West was the result of European invasion and the discovery of that language. Most of the Sanskrit works in the West had resulted from the emphasis which Western scholars put on philology. America studied European philology and that naturally led them to the study of Sanskrit. That study had produced great scholars like Whitney, Bloomfield, Hopkins, Gray and Jackson.

In his own generation, Dr. Poleman said, there were two serious students of Sanskrit in the United States. One was himself and the other was Dr. M. B. Emaneau. Dr. Emaneau on his return to America from his studies in India got a post in the University of California. He (Dr. Poleman) accepted a post in the Library of Congress. American interest in India, and Sanskrit particularly, was concentrated in small academic circles. These were eight in number, namely, the centre where John Hopkins worked and the Universities of Pennsylvania, Harvard, Yale, Prir ceton, California, Chicago and Columbia.

With the coming of the war, Dr. Poleman continued, the interest of American people was awakened in India. Consequently, besides the eight centres mentioned by him, 95 Universities had now provided courses on India and South-East Asia. Those courses, for the most part, were in political

science, sociology and to a certain extent history, religion, modern languages, geography and anthropology, and there was little or no interest in the older classical period.

SANSKRIT IN U. S. UNIVERSITIES

Dr. Poleman said that he was sorry to state that the eight centres of learning mentioned by him had reached a point where their future was uncertain. In the first centre, Dumont had retired and John Hopkins was not likely to continue. This great centre might disappear. In the University of Pennsylvania, a steady continuation of Sanskrit studies was assured largely due to the foundation there of the South-East Asian Institute. In Harvard University, Walter Clarke had retired and Ingulls had taken his place. Harvard was important because it was the centre from which the Oriental Series was being published. At the Yale University, which had in its background Whitney and Hopkins, Edgerton was retiring and there was no one to take his place. But, they could be sure that Harvard and Yale would continue their Sanskrit studies because they had endowed Chairs. One or both of these Universities might go abroad to find suitable replacements for Clarke and Edgerton. At Princeton, Mr. Atkins had put in considerable work on Vedic literature. Emaneau had taken the place of Ryder in California. He could not say what the future of Chicago and Columbia centres would be, because both Jackson and Gray had retired.

Proceeding, Dr. Poleman said that at a few Universities in the United States, Sanskrit studies had been added at elementary level. What Americans hoped was that some of them who liked the Sanskrit language would in the end revive interest in it which was now mainly centred in the eight Universities he had mentioned. Indo-European philology was no longer an impelling force in the study of Sanskrit. Linguisticians now were not interested in the study of ancient languages. Their interest was in the modern languages. In the University of Pennsylvania, courses were given in Gujarati, Bengali, Hindi, Urdu and most recently in some of the Dravidian languages and Sinhalese. This linguistic approach had not yet reached the literature of the languages.

Dr. Poleman further observed that the strength of Indic studies in the museums of America had not increased in the

last decade or two. Boston Museum had made some progress under the guidance of the late Mr. Ananda Coomaraswami. Their main interest was in anthropology and social studies. In the very near future the museums would be adding to their collections, particularly in the field of anthropology.

Proceeding, Dr. Poleman said that library interest in India and Sanskrit had not increased appreciably in America during the last decade, except at the Library of Congress and University of Pennsylvania both of which were buying heavily modern literature of India. There were 16 other outstanding centres of collections. In addition to them, 45 libraries were beginning to build a general collection in Western languages on Indian civilisation. The great difficulty of libraries in the United States and their inability to collect books, lay in the lack of bibliographical aids. Most of the libraries found it impossible to discover what was published in India. If they discovered, there was no channel of approach to get at them. This was a matter of great concern, and while he was in India, he would work on the problem of channels of approaches to Indian books and of bibliographical assistance.

American Research Centre in India

The most recent development of interest in India in the widest sense on the part of Americans was the formation of the Joint Committee of South-East Asian Studies, of philologists, social scientists, linguisticians, etc. This Committee which was heavily subsidised had been formed to study the future course of work on India by scholars and the possible needs and directions of research. The first approach which they were going to put into effect, as soon as possible, was the establishment of a small centre in India for research studies, which would be called the American Research Institute. The place where it was to be established had not yet been determined. It would have a small beginning with great possibilities. In two or three years they hoped that the activities of this Institute would extend in the field of teaching with the co-operation of Indian scholars.

The second endeavour of the Joint Committee, Dr. Poleman said, would be to bring out exhaustive and adequate guides not only of the literature of India, but of secondary sources of history and other aspects of Indian culture, including modern and current periods. In this task, they would

need the active assistance of Indians. For this bibliographical endeavour, plans had been drawn up and the necessary financial support was also assured. This Joint Committee would also attempt new publications of American works in this field. In this connection, he said that Edgerton who had studied Mahāyāna Buddhistic literature had plans to bring out a grammar first, and then a lexicon of 'Buddhistic Sanskrit'. The Joint Committee of South-East Asian studies was also studying the future of instruction in America on India and South-East Asian area, and attempting to balance instruction in languages against instruction in other fields such as history, anthropology etc., and to determine which University was the best for the development of Indic studies. This Committee was publishing a bulletin and the speaker hoped to compile a list of names of people in India who would be interested in knowing what this Committee was doing.

Coming back to the question of the future of Sanskrit studies in America, Dr. Poleman observed that at the present moment it might look dark because elder men were retiring. They had not trained younger men to any great extent because of the fact that there was no real opportunity for younger men to make a living when they received their Doctorate in Sanskrit. The interest developing in America on the linguistic line had to a great extent drawn students away from the study of the classical period to the study of the modern period. For the continued work in Sanskrit studies in America they must depend mostly on the work in Sanskrit literature which Indians themselves did. He expressed the hope that people here would continue to bring out splendid editions of Sanskrit materials and also give wise commentaries and translations of the materials. He added that one of the purposes of the Joint Committee referred to by him would be to build up greater contacts between Americans and Indians; there was a programme for exchange of students, 200 from this area going to America and 200 from America coming to this area. Out of the 200, some would be students of Sanskrit. As a result of this, when more Americans came to India and studied Sanskrit, he hoped the future of Sanskrit studies in America would be assured.

In the course of the concluding remarks Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that when the conditions of Sanskrit scholars in India itself were scandalous, the reasons given by Dr. Poleman why very little work was done in America were perfectly

intelligible to them. On the other hand, the fact that some Universities were still persevering in this work might be regarded as a cause for satisfaction. Dr. Poleman and his wife were interesting themselves in "Karma Kāṇḍa", which they in India had practically deserted, and seemed to be bent upon reviving it. Let them hope that after Dr. Poleman and his wife had established the worthwhileness of it, they in India might find it possible to devote a little more attention to that subject.

Referring to the difficulties mentioned by Dr. Poleman in getting books from India and also getting proper bibliographies, Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar said that bibiographies were not being properly prepared for a variety of reasons. But, in respect of books, America could not expect to keep only a one-way traffic. In India, they did not get books from America and if they did get, it was on America's terms. Books were not at all sent out to India for review by American publishers and he was reliably told that this was due to the pact entered into between American and British publishers, under which India was reserved as a market for British publishing firms. There should be a two-way traffic and he hoped that Dr. Poleman would take up this question with his Government.

Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar thought that with a little encouragement more students might be induced to spend a year or two more in Institutions in America which provided Sanskrit studies. Dr. Poleman had also mentioned that 200 Indians were likely to be selected for studies in America. Mr. Raghunatha Aiyar hoped that the students so selected would be persons with some standing in their own chosen work. He also hoped that it would be possible to send at least a dozen men who were recognised as authorities in Sanskrit here. There were several persons, Pandits as well as modern scholars, who would do credit to any seat of learning. If some of the best men were selected, India might be able to help America in the way Dr. Poleman wanted India to help them.

Proposing a vote of thanks, Mr. K. Balasubramania Aiyar said that if cultural contact was established between real scholars in India and America the future of Sanskrit studies both in America and in India would be bright.

Mr. Balasubramania Aiyar also announced the release, on the occasion, of the publication "Literary Criticism in Sanskrit and English" by Prof. D. S. Sarma, by the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute.

V

THE GĪTĀ EXHIBITION

Jointly with the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy, the Institute organised and held on December 20, 21, 22, 1950, at the Madras Sanskrit College and Sri Chandrasekharendra Sarasvati Mandapam, an exhibition of editions and translations of the Bhagavadgītā published from all over the world.

Dr. A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, Vice-Chancellor, Madras University, opened the Exhibition before a record gathering. A continuous stream of visitors came to see the exhibition which created an unprecedented enthusiasm.

A complete account of the Exhibition, together with a Bibliography of Gītā Editions and Translations, based on the collection gathered for the Exhibition, is being prepared and will be issued as a separate book.

OBITUARY

PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

(7-5-1871 to 19-9-1950)

By

DR. V. RAGHAVAN

In the demise of Prof. M. Hiriyanna the world has lost a profound Sanskrit scholar, a correct and clear exponent of Indian Philosophy and a true embodiment of the highest ideals of Indian learning and culture. To those of us who were closely associated with him and to the Kuppuswami Sastri Research Institute in which he took active interest from its inception, the loss is personal. To many of us, students of Mm. S. Kuppuswami Sastri, from whom we could never separate Prof. Hiriyanna, the late Professor was indeed another *guru*.

About eighty at the time of his demise, the late Professor was born on 7th May, 1871, as the eldest son of Mysore Nanjundaiya. He graduated from the Madras Christian College (B.A. and M.A.), and imbibed his Sanskrit erudition from his guru Sri Periasami Tirumalachariar. He was first appointed Librarian of the Government Oriental Library, Mysore, in 1891; he was then made Head Clerk in the Office of Education Secretary, Bangalore; in 1895, the Government of Mysore sent him for L. T. training at Saidapet; between 1896 and 1912, he was first Assistant Master and then Headmaster of Government Normal School, Mysore.

In September, 1912, he was appointed Assistant Lecturer in Sanskrit in the Maharaja's College, Mysore, Assistant Professor in the same institution in 1914, Officiating Professor of Sanskrit from December, 1917, and Professor of Sanskrit from July, 1918. In 1921 he was also Curator of the Government Oriental Library for a short period. He retired from the Mysore University in 1927.

After retirement he was more actively engaged in writing; he was connected with several Indian Universities as Examiner, and took part in the activities of learned societies like the All-India Oriental Conference and Indian Philosophical Congress. The former body honoured him with the Presidentship of the Indian Philosophy Section at the Mysore session and elected



PROF. M. HIRIYANNA

him General President for the XVI session, Lucknow (1951), but owing to his failing health he declined the honour; the latter body honoured him with the General Presidentship at its Hyderabad session. In appreciation of his services in the field of Sanskrit, the Madras Saṁskṛta Academy honoured him with the title of "Saṁskṛta Sevā Dhurīṇa". A Volume of Studies in his honour is being issued from Mysore.

A Bibliography of Prof. Hiriyanna's writings is given below.

Like Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, Prof. Hiriyanna was both a *sahṛdaya* and a *śāstrajña*; in fact Hiriyanna's writings on Indian literary criticism and aesthetics are among the few papers of authority and usefulness in the field of Indian aesthetics written by one with a full mastery of Sanskrit, Alaṅkāra Śāstra and Philosophy. In acknowledging reprints of my articles or in reply to querries or in connection with his own papers he corresponded with me on points pertaining to Indian aesthetics and expressed himself as unconvinced about the school of criticism favoured by Dr. Coomaraswami, which I too followed, according to which art was a means of salvation. In śāstras it has been said by those who had first-hand knowledge of him in early years, that he sought authoritative teachers in the respective branches Advaita, Viśiṣṭādvaita etc. to master those systems. It is accepted on all hands that his exposition of the different darśanas was absolutely accurate.

As one who was privileged to enjoy personal contact with him, I desire to recall here some of the occasions when his remarkable behaviour, acts or words threw light on the superior nature of his personality and revealed interesting traits of his character, and also set forth some of the noteworthy features of his life, scholarly work and writings.

Prof. Hiriyanna, unlike Prof. Kuppuswami Sastri, did not take part in active public work in the cause of Sanskrit, and used all his time and energy for his literary work. In fact he avoided public appearances and shunned even the normal social functions like a group photo. I vividly remember now how at the close of the Mysore session of the All-India Oriental Conference where he was one of the Section Presidents, the office-bearers entreated him to sit in the Conference group photo and some of his own local friends and students like Dr. M. H. Krishna, the Local Secretary, even prostrated before him;

nothing could move Prof. Hiriyanna, who, in a short time, quietly disappeared towards his home.

More astonishing is the incident which our Professor Kuppuswami Sastri narrated to us regarding the firm self-abnegation of Hiriyanna: the Government of Mysore once overlooked his seniority, and when his own brother Sir M. N. Krishna Rao became shortly Dewan of the State, Prof. Hiriyanna insisted that his brother should not take the slightest effort to set matters aright. With a genial smile, he once went on narrating to me the only occasion when he felt a serious discomfiture: it was his habit never to be late even to his class; he never crossed an audience or an already crowded hall; he had made it a point to be in his class room earlier than the first student's arrival; but unfortunately only once he had to enter his class room five minutes late after the boys had assembled; and he gravely set forth what a complete damp this produced in him for quite a long time!

A great friend, a thorough gentleman and one who hurt none, Prof. Hiriyanna yet held his own when he was convinced of the shortcomings of anybody's scholarship, and pulled one's legs in a good-humoured and delicate manner, and expressed his opinion firmly. While, along with our Professor, some of us were Professor Hiriyanna's guests during the Mysore Oriental Conference, he opened the Prakaṭārthavivaraṇa and quietly asked its editor to give the meaning of the opening verse of that commentary! He was once a Judge along with our Professor for an M.O.L. thesis from a well-known Pandita of Madras, but he not only refused to agree to the award but proved the serious nature of some flaws in the thesis to the satisfaction of our Professor, with the result the board unanimously decided against the award. The significant fact that one notes in this is the gift to be critical without bitterness, to measure up men and yet be good, a quality which Vālmīki says Rāma possessed:

लोके पुरुषसारज्ञः साधुरेको विनिर्मितः ।

Another important feature of Prof. Hiriyanna's scholarly life was that he avoided controversies, either in person or in writing. When he was here in Madras for the Miller Lectures, on the second day, just before the lecture, in the New Examination Hall, the late Prof. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri, keen dialectician that he was, posed a point and went on arguing it

with Prof. Hiriyanna; the latter quietly told Prof. Sastri that that was all that he (Hiriyanna) knew, at which Prof. Sastri said that if one like him (Hiriyanna) should say so, all that people like himself (Sastri) could do was to prostrate at his feet.

Prof. Hiriyanna was absolutely true to himself; he refused to give certificates to persons with whom and whose work he was not adequately acquainted. In his papers he always acknowledged in a handsome manner even the smallest help received from others, however young or humble they were in the world of scholars.

Prof. Hiriyanna's papers were always to the point; they never strayed beyond the severe limits of the subject on hand; they were brief but sometimes so packed up that one had to read them over and over again. He often took up concepts from the different śāstras and deduced their unsuspected philosophical implications and significances in such a fine and closely argued style that while they were a treat to the initiate, they were hard food for the facile research scholar or fashionable professor. Where there was a doubt he refrained from merely airing any surmise in the hope of adding to the value of his article, or of anticipating a future find; he omitted rigorously. I may mention here an instructive example: When I was engaged in finding out the real author of the Prakaṭārtha and fixing him as Anubhūtisvarūpa, an identification which both Kuppuswami Sastri and Hiriyanna accepted, there was one reference over the solution of which I spent a good deal of time and energy; in the unpublished commentary on the Iṣṭasiddhi by the same Prakaṭārthakāra there is a reply to a fling from some Naiyāyika who said that for illustrations of other varieties of jātyuttaras, futile respondences, one might go to the Iṣṭasiddhi. I thought the Naiyāyika was Udayana and went through not only all the printed works of that author but manuscripts of the unprinted portions of his Ṭīkāpariśuddhi, but could not lay my hands on any such passage. If I had succeeded in finding out this Naiyāyika it would have once for all narrowed down the limits for the date of Vimuktātman; and I shared my dejection after this futile search with Prof. Hiriyanna. To my surprise he sent me a cutting of a footnote in type-script referring to this same point (taken from Jñānottama's gloss which reproduces Vimuktātman's) and the likelihood of this Naiyāyika being Udayana which he had

hazarded in the Introduction to his edition of the Iṣṭasiddhi in the discussion of the date of the author of that work, but which, on mature consideration of the lack of confirmatory evidence, he had removed from his Introduction. This kind of exercise of restraint and freedom from anxiety to indulge in plausible conjectures is not the least part of the excellence of the writings of Prof. Hiriyanna.

There is a quality of neatness in his writing, of everything in its place, with no room for confusion; this was uniformly present in all things about him. In his house, any guest could go blindfold and find things each in its proper place; all the the 300 volumes of his Library which are now in our Institute bear delicate pencil notes; and evidences of his careful reading have not soiled or rendered the volumes ugly, each book with its wrapper appearing still fresh, and what is more, equipped, in many cases, with cuttings of prominent reviews in standard periodicals.

These are some of the qualities of Prof. Hiriyanna which have exerted an abiding influence on me. In him we had a scholar whose modesty was as profound as his learning, whose style was as chaste as his character, whose conduct was as ennobling as his precept, in fact, one in whom the fruits of culture had truly manifested themselves.

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BOOK REVIEW

GADADHARABHATTACARYA'S VYUTPATTIVADA-LAKARARTHAVICARA. WITH VIVARANA, by Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastri, Annamalainagar, 1949. Annamalai University Sanskrit Series 10, pp. xiv+249.

Next to Gaṅgeśopādhyāya, the author of *Tattvacintāmaṇi* and Raghunātha Śiromaṇi, the author of *Dīdhiti*, a commentary on *Tattvacintāmaṇi*, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya is a star of high magnitude in the firmament of Navya-nyāya dialectitians. Besides being a great commentator on *Dīdhiti*, Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācārya is the author of many independent treatises on Navya-nyāya, of which *Vyutpattivāda* and *Śaktivāda* deserve special mention. *Vyutpattivādā*, as the title indicates, is an authoritative work dealing with many important questions connected with śābdabodha (verbal cognition) according to the Navya-nyāya school. Just before him Jagadīśa Tarkālaṅkāra, another great commentator on *Dīdhiti*, had written *Śabdaśaktiprakāśikā* on the same subject; yet the *Vyutpattivāda* is more popular than the other among the advanced students of Navya-nyāya who would never fail to master this book.

What is the leading concept (mukhya-viśeṣya) in verbal cognition is a question of learned controversy. The Naiyāyikas accept the prathamāntārtha, the chief meaning of the stem in nominative case in a sentence as the leading concept as far as possible, while the Grammarians and Mīmāṁsakas hold the view respectively that the meaning of the root in a verb and the meaning of the personal termination are the mukhya-viśeṣyas on the basis of the different interpretations of the well-known dictum of Yāska, भावप्रधानमाख्यातम्. It is again a matter of controversy how the relation between one padārtha and another in a sentence which is considered to be the vākyārtha, the chief import of the sentence, is known. The Naiyāyikas hold that each pada conveys its meaning according to the time-honoured convention and that their mutual relation, either *abheda* (identity) or *bheda* (relation involving difference), is to be understood from the *samabhivyāhāra* (the co-utterance and juxtaposition of words in a sentence on the basis of the three accessories, *ākāṅkṣā*—verbal expectancy—,

yogyatā—congruity—and *sannidhi*—close proximity. This is explained by the opening sentence in *Vyutpattivāda*:

शाब्दबोधे चैकपदार्थेऽपरपदार्थस्य संसर्गः संसर्गमर्यादया भासते ।

The Grammarians accept a separate *śakti* on vākya which is an indivisible *sphoṭa* to convey the relation of the padārthas, while the Mīmāṁsakas (the Bhāṭṭas) who are known as the *abhihitānvayavādins* finally accept *lakṣaṇa* on vākya to convery the vākyārtha. The Prābhākaras who are better known as *anvitābhidhānavādins*, accept the view that the padas themselves convey the *abhidhā*, both the padārtha and their *anvaya*-relation. The Naiyāyika viewpoint on this topic is elaborately discussed in the early portion of *Lakārārthavicāra*. The different meanings of the seven suffixes and those of the prātipadikas (nominal and pronominal stems, adjectives, etc.) are also in detail discussed in this part of the book.

The volume under review contains the latter portion, *Lakārārthavicāra*, discussion of the various meanings of the personal suffixes as related to their stems, *viz.*, the root after which they are operated and to other words in a sentence. All lakāras (personal sufixes) have a common meaning in examples like गच्छति, अगच्छत्, viz. *kṛti*, volition, which belongs to the agent (*kartā*). Whether these personal suffixes convey *kṛti* or *kartā* by *abhidhāsakti* is a disputed question. The Grammarians hold the view on the basis of Pāṇini's sūtra, लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः, that lakāras convey *kartā* (*karma* and *bhāva*) only and not *kṛti*, while the Mīmāṁsakas and the Naiyāyikas accept the view that they convey only *kṛti* (on the basis of ākṛtyadhikaraṇa), the knowledge of which would automatically lead to the knowledge of kartā, its substratum. As these personal suffixes indicate different tenses and moods, different senses like *vartamānatva* are conveyed by them as their special meanings. The present tense (*laṭ*) conveys the sense of *vartamānatva*, the aorist the sense of *atītatva*, the imperfect the two senses of *anadyatanatva* and *atītatva*, the past perfect the three senses of *atītatva*, *anadyatanatva* and *parokṣatva*, and so on, on the basis of sūtras like वर्तमाने लट्, अनद्यतने लङ् and परोक्षे लिट् । Similarly the different forms गच्छति, गच्छतः and गच्छन्ति in three numbers and persons in each lakāra and in two padas convey the different meanings like *ekatva*, *dvitva* and *bahutva*, *paragāmitva* and *ātmagāmitva* as

related to the two meanings of the root, *phala* and *vyāpāra*. All these topics with their final explanations and illustrations are discussed in detail in this book with the points of agreement and disagreement between the Naiyāyikas on one side and the Mīmāṁsakas and the Grammarians on the other.

The topic of *liṅartha*, the meaning of the potential termination, is discussed in detail. The Naiyāyikas explain *vidhi* as the meaning of the potential and imperative suffixes which they interpret as the triple idea of इष्टसाधनत्व, कृतिसाध्यत्व and बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धी च. The knowledge of a thing to be done, that it is the means of his desired object, that it is possible to accomplish and that it would not produce any great harm to the agent, is indispensible for any man if he has to act on a thing. The mere knowledge of *pravartanā*, the desire of the speaker to make the hearer to act (श्रोतृप्रवृत्त्यनुकूलवक्त्रिच्छा) is not sufficient to produce the *pravṛtti*. The Mīmāṁsakas however accept *pravartanā* (vidhi) as the primary sense of the potential and imperative suffixes in examples like स्वर्गकामः, गामानय, on the basis of *lāghava* and explain that the knowledge of this *pravartanā* would lead to the inference of इष्टसाधनत्व, कृतिसाध्यत्व and बलवदनिष्टाननुबन्धी च। त्यागः इष्टसाधनं, प्रवर्तनाविषयत्वात् etc.) The Vivaraṇa on this portion makes a special plea to accept the Naiyāyika view in preference to the others' view.

The commentator, Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal is one of the few scholars of today in Nyāya and Advaita-vedānta belonging to the old traditional type of Pandits. The commentary is the direct result of his teaching advanced Nyāya texts, particularly Gadādhara Bhaṭṭācāryā's *Vyutpatti-vāda* and other works to the Final students of Siromani course in the Annamalai University for the past twenty years. Besides this commentary he has to his credit several original papers in Sanskrit on Śaktivimarśa, Lakṣaṇāvimarśa and Vidhi-vimarśa (*vide* issues of Annamalai University Journal) which contain critical studies on several problems connected with śābdabodha, such as the conception and scope of śakti and lakṣaṇā, the primary and secondary significative potencies of śabda according to the पदशास्त्र, वाक्यशास्त्र and प्रमाणशास्त्र which have contributed much to the development of the science of semantics in Sanskrit. As an advanced scholar in Nyāya, he finally favours the Naiyāyika view in preference to the views of the other two schools of thought.

Panditaraja V. Subrahmanya Sastrigal is to be congratulated for having written this short fine commentary on the difficult and highly technical text. There are already a few commentaries on this work. The commentary by Dharmadattasūri (Baccha Sarma) is too elaborate in the beginning and dwindles into nothing towards the end. The commentary Ādarśa is not only not helpful to understand the text in many places but is even not reliable in a few instances, which our author has indicated in his commentary. Many other attempts to write commentaries on Vyutpattivāda are known, but they deal with only the early portion. Rāmarudra Bhaṭṭācārya's commentary, though printed in Telugu script, extends only to the middle of the book. The Vivaraṇa which contains explanation for the last portion of the text meets a long-felt need of the students and teachers of this difficult text in Śābdabodha. It is hoped that Panditaraja Sastrigal will write soon his commentary on the early portion also.

The Foreword from the pen of the great royal scholar, His Highness Rama Varma Parikshit, Maharaja of Cochin, explains well the merits and use of this commentary, and it greatly enhances the value of the publication. The contents in Sanskrit of the text and the commentary prepared by the commentator are very useful and add to the value of the publication as a reference book in Vyutpattivāda literature.

V. A. RAMASWAMI SASTRI

Tāy, here, refers to the foster-mother since she alone is confided with secrets, so that she may investigate into them.

Who deserves to be the lady's friend?

123. தோழி தானே செவிலி மகளே.
Tōḻi tāṉ-ē cevili makaḷ-ē.

The lady's friend is the daughter of the foster-mother.

What is her duty?

124. சூழ்தலு முசாத்துணை நிலைமையிற் பொலிமே.
Cūḻtal-u m-ucāttuṇai nilaimaiyiṟ polim-ē.

She shines most when she critically views the situation on her being consulted.

How does she decide the reciprocal love of the lover and the lady?

125. குறையுற வுணர்தன் முன்னுற வுணர்தல்
இருவரு முள்வழி யவன்வர வுணர்தலென
[1]மதியுடம் படுத்த லொருமூ வகைத்தே.
Kuṟai-y-uṟa v-uṇartaṉ muṉ-ṉ uṟa v-uṇartal
Iruvaru m-uḷvaḻi y-avaṉ-vara v-uṇartal-eṉa
Mati-y-uṭam paṭutta l-oru-mū vaṟaitt-ē.

There are three ways in which the lady's friend decides the reciprocal love of the lover and the lady:—they happen when the lover expresses his grievances to her, when she infers from the attitude of the lady and when the lover comes while the lady and herself are in each other's company.

Note 1.—*Naccinārkkiniyar* feels that the idea contained in this *sūtra* finds expression in the *sūtra nārramum* (*sūtra* 24 above); but the occasions when the lady's friend has her sayings are mentioned there and the ways of determining the love of the lover and the lady are mentioned here.

What will she do then?

126. அன்ன வகையா னுணர்ந்தபின் னல்லது
பின்னிலை முயற்சி [2]பெறுளென மொழிப.
Aṉṉa vakaiyā ṉ-uṇarntapiṉ ṉ-allatu
Piṉṉilai muyaṟci peṟuḷ-eṉa moḻipa.

They say that she does not try for what should follow, unless she has determined their love in the above ways.

1. மதியுடம் படுதல் (இளம்.); மதியுடம் படுத்தல் (நச்.)
2. பெருள் (இளம்.); பெருன் (நச்.)

Note 1.—This *sūtra* and the previous one deal with the case when the lady and the lover did not have conjugal union even though they reciprocated each other's love.

Note 2 From Note 1.—It is evident that the reading *peṟāṉ* adopted by *Naccinārkkiniyar* is not as good as *peṟāḷ* adopted by *Iḷampūraṇar*, since the attempt is on the side of the lady's friend.

127. முயற்சிக் காலத் ததற்பட நாடிப்
புணர்த்த லாற்றலு மவள்வயி னான.
Muyaṟci-k kālat t-ataṟ-paṭa nāṭi-p
Puṇartta l-āṟṟal-u m-avaḷ-vayi ṉ-āṉ-a.

It is her responsibility to determine towards the opportunities of their union when the lover tries for it and to bring it about?

When does she bring it about?

128. குறியெனப் படுவ திரவினும் பகலினும்
அறியக் கிளந்த[1] வாற்ற தென்ப.
Kuṟi-y-eṉa-p paṭuva-t-iraviṉūm pakaliṉ-um
Aṟiya-k kiḷanta v-āṟṟa t-enpa.

The tryst or the time and place of the lovers' meeting may happen both at night and at day.

What is the place of meeting at night?

129. இரவுக் குறியே[2] யில்லகத் தள்ளும்
மனையோர் கிளவி கேட்கும்வழி யதுவே
மனையகம் புகாஅக் காலை யான.
Iravu-k kuṟi-y-ē y-illakat t-uḷḷum
Maṉaiyōr kiḷavi kēṭkum-vaḷi y-atu-vē
Maṉai-y-akam pukāa-k kālai y-āṉ-a.

If, at night, it is not possible for the lovers to meet within the house of lady, the place of their meeting is in a place which is so close to her house as to be at hearing distance.

Which is the place of meeting at day?

130. பகற்புணர் களனே புறனென மொழிப
அவளறி வுணர வருவழி யான.
Pakaṟ-puṇar kaḷaṉ-ē puṟaṉ-eṉa moḻipa
Avaḷ-aṟi v-uṇara varu-vaḷi y-āṉ-a.

1. கிளந்த (இளம்.); தோன்றும் (நச்.)
2. இரவிற்குறி (இளம்); இரவுக்குறி (நச்.)

They say that the place of meeting of the lovers at day is outside the fort which is within the knowledge of the lady.

Do they invariably meet at the appointed place?

131. அல்லகுறிப் படுதலு மவள்வயி னுரித்தே
அவன்குறி மயங்கிய வமைவொடு வரினே.
Alla-kuṟi-p paṭutal-u m-aval-vayi ṉ-uṟitt-ē
Avaṉ-kuṟi mayaṅkiya v-amaivoṭu varin-ē,

She may go to a wrong place if the place suggested by the lover is capable of being understood in two ways.

What happens then?

132. ஆங்காங் கொழுகு மொழுக்கமு முண்டே
ஓங்கிய சிறப்பி னொருசிறை யான.
Āṅkāṅ k-oḻuku m-oḻukkam-u m-uṇṭ-ē
Ōṅkiya ciṟappi ṉ-oru-ciṟai y-āṉa.

She, even then, may have the superior type of meeting the lover through her mind, though it is physically one-sided.

Note 1.—*Naccinārkkiniyar* interprets that the lover has an opportunity to feel the separation as the lady and her friend.

Is not the lover prevented by *dharmaśāstra* to meet her on certain occasions?

133. மறைந்த வொழுக்கத் தோரையு நாளும்
துறந்த வொழுக்கங் கிழவற் கில்லை.
Maṟainta v-oḻukkat t-ōrai-y-u-nāḷ-um
Tuṟanta v-oḻukkaṅ kiḻavaṟ k-illai.

The rules prohibiting particular hours and days to meet the lady do not apply to the lover during *kaḷavu*.

Is he not prevented by the inaccessible path etc, ?

134. ஆற்றின தருமையு மழிவு மச்சமும்
உறுமுளப்பட வதனோ டற்றே.
Āṟṟiṉa t-arumai y-u m-aḻivu m-a c-cam-um
Ūṟu m-uḷappaṭa v-aṭaṉ-ō raṟṟē.

The difficulty of the path, loss of presence of mind, sense of fear and obstacles are of the same nature, (*i.e.*) do not stand in the way of the lover.

How do the father and the elder brother of the lady, become aware of the kaḷavu?

135. தந்தையுந் தன்னையு முன்னத்தி னுணர்ப.
Tantai-y-un taṉṉai-y-u munnatti ṉ-uṇarpa.

The father and the elder brother of the lady infer (the kaḷavu) from her features.

How does the mother know it?

136. தாயறி வுறுதல் செவிலியோ டொக்கும்.
Tāy-aṟi v-uṟutal ceviliyō ṭ-okkum.

The mother of the lady understands it in the same way as the foster-mother.

Who is chiefly responsible for the kaḷavu to become known to all?

137. அம்பலு மலருங் களவுவெளிப் படுத்தலின்
அங்கதன் முதல்வன் கிழவ னாகும்.
Ampal u m-alar-uṅ kaḷavu-veḷi-p paṭuttaliṉ
Aṅkataṉ muṭalvaṉ kiḻava ṉ-ākum.

The lover is chiefly responsible for the *kaḷavu* to become known to others through *ampal* and *alar*.

Note 1.—*Alar* is the talk among people and *ampal* is the communication among them through gestures.

When does the lover express his wish to the lady's father?

138. வெளிப்பட வரைதல் படாமை வரைதலென்று
ஆயிரண் டென்ப வரைத லாறே.
Veḷippaṭa varaital paṭāmai varaital eṉṟu
Āyiraṇ ṭ-eṉpa varaita l-āṟ-ē.

There are two ways of expressing the lover's wish to the lady's father, one after their *kaḷavu* became the public property and another before it.

Is the lover permitted separation from the lady after *kaḷavu* is publicly known and before his *varaivu*?

139. வெளிப்படை தானே கற்பிலை டொப்பினும்
ஞாங்கர்க் கிளந்த மூன்று பொருளாக
வரையா தகலிதல் கிழவோற் கில்லை.
Veḷippaṭai tāṉ-ē kaṟpiṉo ṭ-oppiṉum
ɴāṅkar-k kiḷanta mūṉṟu poruḷāka
Varaiyātu pirital kiḻavōṟ k-illai.

The lover is not permitted separation from the lady on account of three causes—study, war and embassy—after *kaḷavu* and before *varaivu*, even though *kaḷavu* that is publicly known is similar to *kaṟpu*.

Note 1.—*Varaivu* is the expression of the lover's wish to marry the lady to her father.

Kaḷaviyal ends.

निर्वेदकरमाचारं दृष्ट्वा तेषां दुरात्मनाम् ।
निवृत्तः सर्वसंसारान्मरणायेदमारभे ॥ ८ ॥

इति श्रुत्वा शुभां वाचं व्याजहार नृपात्मजः ।
सत्यं दुःसह एवासौ पुंसां दुर्जनसङ्गमः ॥ ९ ॥

सन्त्येव भुवि सन्तोऽपि तुल्याः स्वार्थपरार्थयोः ।
सद्भिः सहोपवासोऽपि स्वदेतान्यैः सुखाशनात् ॥ १० ॥

अपनीयायुषि द्वेषं तद् भवाननुयातु नः ।
इति ब्रुवति तत्रैका शिबिका समदृश्यत ॥ ११ ॥

तस्यां वर्षवरप्रायैः स्त्रीजनैर्वृतमन्तिकात् ।
रुजा परीतमेत्यामी सोमदत्तमलक्षयन् ॥ १२ ॥

सोमदत्तः सुहृत्प्रेम्णा स्वस्थीभूतः स तैः सह ।
प्रच्छाये क्वचनासीनो निगृह्य ज्वरवेदनाम् ॥ १३ ॥

वर्गाद्यन्तान्तस्थैर्ऋलृवर्णविवर्जितैः स्वरैर्मृदुभिः ।
स चतुर्विंशतिवर्णैः स्वचरितमनुवर्णयांचक्रे ॥ १४ ॥

कुमार ! तत्राचलकानने त्व-
व्यलोकिते ताम्यति मित्रलोके ।
चरत्यवन्यामनुपारियात्रं
वनोर्मिमालिन्यपरा मयापे ॥ १५ ॥

ततो मणिं तत्पुलिने निलीनं
विलोक्य मत्वा पतितं कुतोऽपि ।
पटान्तमानीय चरन्नटव्यां
व्यलोकयं विप्रकमार्तरूपम् ॥ १६ ॥

विचार्यते केन वनं त्वयैत-
न्मयैवमुक्ते लपितं च तेन ।
अकिञ्चनः किञ्चन याचमानः
प्राणक्रियां लाटपतेर्नयामि ॥ १७ ॥

लाटोत्तमे तत्र च मत्तकाले
कन्यानिमित्तं प्रति पारियात्रम् ।
प्रवर्तमाने कटकानुवर्ती
चराम्यरण्ये परियाचनाय ॥ १८ ॥

एवं मयाकर्ण्य मणौ वितीर्णे
विप्रे ततः प्रीततरे प्रयाते ।
प्रमीलितः किञ्चन तं च विप्रं
किमप्यनीकं पुरतो व्यलोकि ॥ १९ ॥

ते मामवोचन् परिवार्य कोपा-
न्मित्राणि चान्ये मणयः क्व चेति ।
नावैमि किञ्चित् पुलिने मयैत-
न्माणिक्यमालोकितमित्यवोचम् ॥ २० ॥

एतावतान्यानपि पञ्च चोरा-
नानीय तान् नः कटकं नयन्तः ।
ते मानवाः कर्णकटु क्वणन्तः
कारालयं नो नियमय्य निन्युः ॥ २१ ॥

उक्ता विविक्ते तु मया किमेतत्
के यूयमित्यूचुरमी च चोराः ।
लाटोऽयमत्रापचिते रिपाव-
प्यलं निकर्तुं न तु पारियात्रः ॥ २२ ॥

तत्कन्यकां लाटपतिः प्रतीतां
नाम्ना च वामाञ्चितलोचनेति ।
आकर्ण्य तूर्णं परिणेतुकामः
प्रचक्रमे मित्रतया प्रयातुम् ॥ २३ ॥

अवेत्य तन्मित्रतयाप्यरातेः
प्राप्तिर्न युक्तेति विचार्य कन्याम् ।
अमात्यमित्रावनिपालयुक्ता-
मनीनयत्तामपि पारियात्रः ॥ २४ ॥

पञ्चापि चोराः कटकानुयाता
अमात्यपुत्रानुचरा वयं ते ।
रत्नानि लाटालयमेत्य वैरी-
त्यचोरयामात्र निलीयमानाः २५ ॥

वने क्वचिच्चोरितरत्नमेकं
च्युतं ततः प्राप्य निकेतमार्ताः ।
एतन्निमित्तं पुनरप्युपेताः
क्रान्ता वयं चैत्रमनीकवीरैः ॥ २६ ॥

आकर्ण्य चैतच्चरणेन यन्त्रं
लूत्वा वयं नक्तममैव चोरैः ।
लुप्त्वालयं कान्यपि यामिकाना-
मालूय कन्याकटकं प्रपन्नाः ॥ २७ ॥

तत्रैकतो यामवतीविरामे
क्षुमान्निमीलन्नयनोऽप्युदन्ते ।
पत्रेण नारीमपि मारयन्तं
कमप्यलङ्काररुचा व्यलोके ॥ २८ ॥

तं मारयित्वा वनितामवोचं
का त्वं किमित्यालपितं च तन्व्या ।
अवैतु कन्यापरिचारिकां मां
कल्याणवर्मा मम मानपालः ॥ २९ ॥

अमात्यपुत्रः प्रणयी च योऽयं
कल्याणिना कालपुरं प्रणीतः ।
प्रकण्टको नाम चमूपतेर्नः
कुलान्तकः पीलुपतेः कुमारः ॥ ३० ॥

मैत्री परा पत्युरनेन चायं
चिरायमाणे रमणेऽत्र रात्रौ ।
प्रेम्णानुनीय प्रतिकूलरूपां
मां मारयन् कारुणिक त्वयाप्तः ॥ ३१ ॥

इतीरितां वाचमवेत्य वाप्यां
रक्तावलिप्तं परिपूय कायम् ।
वेलापतेरुच्चलिते रवाव-
व्याकर्णयं व्याकुलरावमेवम् ॥ ३२ ॥

मित्रं प्रमाप्यात्मनिकेतनेऽपि
व्यलीकमारोप्य च मानपालः ।
प्रकण्टकं पीलुपतिप्रयुक्तै-
र्नियन्त्रितो यातयितुं प्रणीतः ॥ ३३ ॥

न युक्तमित्यत्र च मानपाले
क्रूराणि कर्माण्यविनीत एव ।
प्रकण्टकः किं च तयोक्तमेतत्
कोऽप्याचरन्मारयितुं ममेति ॥ ३४ ॥

लोकप्रलापानिति तत्र चित्रा-
नाकर्ण्य तूर्णं विचरन्नुपान्ते ।
तां पारियात्रावनिपालकन्यां
न्यरूपयं तत्र च पर्वतान्ते ॥ ३५ ॥

मारातुरः किञ्चन चिन्तयित्वा
विमुच्यतां मन्त्रिकुमार आर्तः ।
एतन्मयैवाक्रियतामुना ने-
त्यवोचमुच्चैः करमुन्नमय्य ॥ ३६ ॥

ते पञ्च चोरा अपि मानपालं
परीयुरुन्मूल्य बलं रिपूणाम् ।
याता वयं यत्र च चित्तचोरी
तं पर्वतं वैरिनिवारणाय ॥ ३७ ॥

विलुप्तमौलः पुनरेत्य कान्तां
प्रवातवल्लीमिव वेपमानाम् ।
चोरा वयं ते परिपालनीया
इत्यालपं तच्चरणान्तवर्ती ॥ ३८ ॥

कन्या तु कामाचितचित्तक्रिया मां
व्रीलाविनम्राननमालुलोके ।
आलोक्य तत्रान्तिकवर्तिनी मा-
मित्यालपन्मन्त्रिकुमारकान्ता ॥ ३९ ॥

वक्त्रान्मम त्वच्चरितान्यवेत्य
प्रीतेयमत्राप्यतिमानवेन ।
रूपेण रम्येण पराक्रमेण
क्रीतेव ते कर्मकरी कुमारी । ४० ॥

इत्यन्तरे मन्त्रिकुमारपूर्वा
मामन्ववर्तन्त परे च वीराः ।
लाटः पुनः पीलुपतिप्रणीतां
वार्तामवेत्याकुलमापपात ॥ ४१ ॥

रोषैरनेकानुचरं विचित्रै-
रालातचक्रेण च वारणेन ।
रणान्तरे लाटपतिं रिपुं तं
यमालयं प्रापयमात्तकोपम् ॥ ४२ ॥

पत्रेण मन्त्री मतिपालनामा
तां पारियात्राय निनाय वार्ताम् ।
प्रीतः परं तेन वितीर्य कन्या-
माकारयन्मामपि वीरकेतुः ॥ ४३ ॥

प्राप्तेयमापत् पुनरामयात्मा
मामेवमूचे च विलोक्य मन्त्री ।
कार्यान्तरात् तात! वयं प्रपन्नाः
पुरा पुरारातेमवान्तिपुर्याम् ॥ ४४ ॥

मालावती नाम च वीरकेतोः
पत्नी त्रिणेत्रं चिरमर्चयन्ती ।
तं कन्यकापत्यमयाचतैनां,
प्रीतः पिनाकी पुनरित्युवाच ॥ ४५ ॥

कन्या वितीर्णा वरवर्णिनी ते
यः कन्यकायाः कलयेत् करान्तम् ।
अनर्चिता त्रीनपि चेन्ममतून्
चित्तामयेन म्रियते पुरायम् ॥ ४६ ॥

इत्येवमेनामपि पारियात्रः
कुर्यामभित्रान्ततयेति मत्वा ।
तां मत्तकालाय निनाय कन्या
(मुक्ता विपच्चा)पतिता तवेयम् ॥ ४७ ॥

अवन्तिपुर्यां त्वरया पुरारिं
ततोऽर्चयामेत्यमुयाप्यमैव ।
आनीतवान् मामयमत्र च त्वा-
मालोक्य निर्वा(ण इवामयो मे) ॥ ४८ ॥

इति श्रुते मन्त्रिणि तत्सुते च
प्रयुज्य पूजां मनुजेन्द्रसूनुः ।
हरार्चनोल्लाघसुहृत्सहायः
पुष्पोद्भवस्यालयमाविवेश ॥ ४९ ॥

पुष्पोद्भवस्याथ समीक्ष्य माता
दिष्टयैव दृष्टः कृपयामुनैव ।
उज्जीविताहं विपिने विपन्ने-
त्यादिश्य विद्येश्वरमापपात ॥ ५० ॥

तस्मिन् दिने मित्रसमाजरम्ये
गते परेद्युः स तु सौव्रतेयः ।
प्रापय्य विद्येश्वरसोमदत्ता-
वुपह्वरं प्राक्रमतामिधातुम् ॥ ५१ ॥

अजायतैवं जरितारिशापात्
साम्बः कुमारोऽयममुष्य देवी ।
अवन्तिसुन्दर्यजनि स्मरन्तौ
परस्परं तौ क्षणमैक्षिषाताम् ॥ ५२ ॥

अथाविषह्यस्मरविक्रियोऽपि तां
प्रियामदत्तां गुरुणा नृपात्मजः ।
समानतापामपि नोद्विवक्षते
त्रातुः परोक्षं न तु हर्तुमीहते ॥ ५३ ॥

कालात्ययं न क्षमते विकारः
सन्तर्कितस्तत्र मयाभ्युपायः ।
योऽस्मासु मायाकुशलः स राज्ञे
विदर्शयेत् कानिचिदद्भुतानि ॥ ५४ ॥

सविस्मयायाभिजनादिरम्यं
तमेव निर्दिश्य वरं सुतायाः ।
आहूय पित्रा विधिवद् वितीर्णां
विवाहयेत्तामचिरात् कुमारम् ॥ ५५ ॥

व्यामोह्य मायाभिरशेषमेवं
निर्वर्तिते तेन विभोर्विवाहे ।
देव्येव रक्षिष्यति सारह...
.....चद्वामपि तत् क्रियेत ॥ ५६ ॥

तथेति ताभ्यामनुमन्यमाने
स्वकान्तया तामपि सौव्रतेयः ।
निवेदितार्थामकरोन्नरेन्द्र-
(मुपेत्य विद्येश्वर एव) मूचे ॥ ५७ ॥

मायावधीती विविधास्वहं तद्
देवानुगृह्णात्ववधानदानात् ।
व्यामोहनं क्रीडितमिन्द्रजालम्
इति त्रिभेदां प्रवदन्ति मा(याम्) ॥ ५८ ॥

.....शेषाद्
दुरत्ययास्तत् पुनरिन्द्रजालम् ।
विलोक्यतां विस्मयनीयमेवं
स्वयोगपिब्छां भ्रमयांचकार ॥ ५९ ॥

प्रादुर्बभूवुः पुर(तश्च नागा)
स्तद्भक्षिणः पक्षिगणास्ततोऽपि ।
बहुप्रकारानिति दर्शयित्वा
योक्ष्यन् वरेण्येन वरेण कन्याम् ॥ ६० ॥

शस्त्रेण राजा शकलीकृतो य-
स्त्वया सुतस्तस्य तपस्यतोऽभूत् ।
स चक्रवर्ती भविता तवेमां
लभेत पुत्रीमिति भूपमूचे ॥ ६१ ॥

सविस्मयः स्वामनुमान्य देवीं
सुतां नरेन्द्रः स्वयमाजुहाव ।
मायामयीं लोकसमक्षमन्या
कन्या कृता विस्मयदर्शिनीति ॥ ६२ ॥

आहूय मायामयमानसार-
मन्त्रिप्रधानेन ततः कुमारीम् ।
विद्येश्वरः क्लृप्तविवाहवेषं
तं दर्शयामास नरेश्वराय ॥ ६३ ॥

कुमारमेत्याग्निरथोऽपि तावद्
गुरून् समानेतुमथोत्पपात ।
क्षणेन च प्राप विमानमेकं
सर्वान् समारोप्य सवामदेवान् ॥ ६४ ॥

ततो मुनीन्द्रैः सह राजहंसं
राजर्षिमभ्यागतमभ्यनन्दत् ।
अवन्तिनाथः पितरौ कुमारो
मुनिं च सानन्दमना ववन्दे ॥ ६५ ॥

तं वामदेवो वरमेवमूचे
कालाश्रयं वत्स! जगत् समस्तम् ।
तस्मिन्निमेषादिसहस्रभेदे
कालेऽपि सन्तो विवदन्त एव ॥ ६६ ॥

GANESA:

CLUE TO A CULT AND A CULTURE

BY

T. G. ARAVAMUTHAN

I

Man's perception of the phenomena of nature is at the root of his apprehension of aspects of the supernatural and the divine. The realisation of each aspect of the divine, which comes to him from his appreciation of each aspect of nature, leads to a crystallisation of each aspect, in his mind, in a symbol or in other shape the most noble of which is the anthropomorphic. With every advance which he makes in the comprehension of the several aspects of nature's facts and mysteries, whether they appeal to him through his physical senses or through his other faculties, he realises in what subtle and endless combinations and variations these aspects mingle. This realisation is accompanied by correspondingly varied precipitations in his mind,— embodiments of feeling,— of equally complex symbols in which his mind is the recipient or, it may be, by formulations— products of reasoning,— of shapes in which the divine comes to have form of some kind through a cogitation in which the mind is active fabricator. The finest of these forms are, again, anthropomorphic, though of complex composition and though invested with varied attributes. Before each such symbol or shape man goes on his knees in absolute surrender: he melts in tears of poignant regret and he holds out his hands in eager solicitation.

To the man of faith these symbols and shapes embody descents of the divine to earth to dwell among men and to ennoble and save them. To those to whom a presumption against the divine is a creed these are but formulations, or embodiments, of man's self-induced responses to his own hopes and aspirations and they are futile amulets fabricated by him against his own doubts, despairs and misdeeds.

For an understanding, however, of the processes which have resulted in these symbols and shapes it does not matter

much whether we treat them as precipitations or as formulations. Even precipitations having to wind through the convolutions of the human mind, an apprehension of them is bound to suffer, at least in part, from the very infirmities to which the formulations are liable. It may be that the symbols and shapes are degradations of the divine or that they are sublimations of the human; howsoever this may be, it is not improbable that the course of the debasement and the course of the sublimation are virtually the converses of each other. So, a study of either one of the processes may prove as illuminating as a study of the other.

The examination of the processes by which the idea and the form of Gaṇeśa arose,— whether they were revealed by precipitation or were reached by sublimation,— is bound to be specially illuminating, for, Gaṇeśa remains zoomorphic in physical features, notwithstanding that in gait he is anthropomorphic, and yet he has often been deemed deity without equal. An investigation along lines which appeal to the anthropologist and others of his ilk,— an analysis of the mode in which the god may be taken to have been formulated,— may not fail to illuminate the processes by which precipitation has given us this God.

II

Gaṇeśa or Gaṇapati,— Lord, or Chief, of a Horde, or of Hordes,— is best characterised by one of his many names, Vighneśa, Lord of Obstacles (with the variant, Vighna-Nāyaka), expressing as it does very succinctly the two-fold role he fills,— as the god who interposes obstacles and as the god who removes them. His associations are apparently with benevolent Gaṇas and Yakshas and with malevolent Vināyakas. He is presented in the guise of an elephant standing upright. This form and the association with hordes have proved obstacles to an understanding of his character and of his proper place in the culture to which he pertains. How a being who, in his upright posture may not easily maintain his balance, could hale in or heave off impediments and why he should be connected with hordes and hosts have been puzzles. Those who have no use for symbols and have no patience with a god who delights in a preposterously long nose, a huge paunch, large ears and tiny eyes avert their eyes from him with a broad smile and also turn away with amusement from a people who

could make a god of him. Indeed, he has been at special pains to justify, even in his own case, his sobriquet of Interposer of Obstacles,— raising impediments to even a recognition of his importance and to an appreciation of the cast of thought of his devotees. But, he is not untrue to his other role of Remover of Obstacles; he is not unwilling to reveal himself in his true character and to help us to understand the significance of the cult which he symbolises and of its place in the culture in which it has arisen.

Gaṇeśa is much more than Gaṇapati or Vighneśvara. He is Gajānana or Elephant-Face, Lambodara or Pot-Belly, Vināyaka or Lack-Lord, and Siddhidātā or Grantor of Success. He wears a serpent across his torso and he manages to 'ride' a rodent which may be rat, mouse or 'bandicoot'. He is son to Śiva and he has a place in the groups attendant on Viṣṇu,— or, on an attendant on Viṣṇu.[1] He has a high reputation for wisdom and he holds a book ostentatiously. In other hands he holds a hatchet, a crook, a noose which he is ready to fling, a pomegranate and a ball of sugared rice.

Gaṇeśa's elephantine form it is that has been generally accepted as the clue to his origin. It has been asserted that he is primarily a totem-animal which has achieved godhead. It has been suggested that his mount (vāhana), the rat, being associated in some cultures with night, he must be Sun-God, vanquishing night. The stout, thick-set form which he shares with the Gaṇas, elves familiar in Indian folklore, has been relied on for placing him in the same class with the Yakṣas, and both Gaṇas and Yakṣas have been assumed to be non-Aryan in conception. Gaṇeśa being unrecognised as Vedic deity and being found referred to in later times as the god of the Śūdras, it has been argued that he arose out of the lowest layer of superstition, totem worship and agrarian rites,— perhaps as a harvest god,— that for century upon century he abode at the foot of the sacred tree of the pre-Aryan village, perhaps a Dravidian one, and that by little and by little he worked his way to the company of the gods who had grown up in

II.—1. Invocation to *Vishṇu-Sahasra-Nāma*, according as Viṣvaksena is taken to be Viṣṇu's Senāpati or to be Viṣṇu himself. If Viṣvaksena is the former, Gaṇapati is an attendant on one who, in the Śaivite hierarchy of gods, is Kārttikeya or Skanda, his younger brother in that system.

India under Aryan auspices.[2] It has been even said that he is among the rabble of evil spirits associated with orgiastic rites arisen from the depths of magical and spiritualistic divagations.[3]

None of these conjectures accounts, however, for even the main features of this god. On the lines on which these speculations run there is no accounting for the elephant juggling with impediments or showering success. It is not even possible to account adequately for the elephant having been chosen for the role of Lord over the Gaṇas or Hordes. Should we assume that, elephants being prone to herd and to be captained by a leader, Gaṇapati was not unnaturally thought of in the elephantine form, we shall be ignoring the important fact that other animals than elephants are also given to herding under a captain. What is more, we shall be unable to account for the name Gaṇapati importing leadership over not only one horde but over a number of hordes as well, for we know of no animals the more masterly members of which assume captaincy over a number of herds. There can be no explaining features such as a serpent having wound itself round his body nor for his holding a hatchet or a crook in his hands nor for his being associated with both Śiva and Viṣṇu. The elephant has not turned up as a god in any primitive culture with even the rudiments of any of the features which he has in Indian culture. A totemistic origin is impossible for a variety of reasons. It is inconsistent with this god being acceptable to all and sundry, including those rank devotees of Viṣṇu who demur to making a bow to Śiva, and, so, to his son. No one claims genetic descent from him. The elephant is not taboo to any class or group or in any form. The hypothesis of a proto-Indian origin presents itself most readily to the anthropologist puzzled by such considerations, but it is a leap in the dark in the total absence of early evidence for the features of either the culture of that age or of the several components of that culture. The anthropological quest for the origins and the growth of this god,— from animal to god, from a hypothetical primitive culture into another culture of varied and noble web and woof,— has failed signally. Indeed, it has been admitted that a deep

2. See, for instance, A. Getty, *Ganesa*, (1936), 1-5, xv-xvii.
3. A. Foucher, in *Ib.*, xxi-xxii.

feeling of frustration grows on him who seeks to unveil the mystery of this god's origin.[4]

A new approach to this problem in origins and evolution is necessary. The clues to this god's history must account, not only for a few of the features of the god picked up almost at random, but must also account for all those characteristics, functions and associations which are at all significant. And, if we find any clue leading us to a culture for which we have early evidence, we may not discard it because it does not take us to another culture in which we had been seeking clues, knowing though we had done that evidences for the components of that culture are not early.

III

Out of the conviction of poor man that a power beyond him capriciously piles up obstacles in his path to prosperity or whisks them away is born the two-phased Lord of Obstacles,—the Lord who conjures obstacles not only in but also out. From the feeling that the flow of boons from a beneficent providence is impeded or is speeded by this Lord of Obstacles arises the postulate of a power which passively grants success by permitting the boons to reach the beneficiary: this passive power, with its counterpart which actively confers boons or even speeds them along and, so, confers and expedites success, becomes the god Siddhidātā, the Grantor of Success.

If early man had sought to visualize a Lord of Obstacles in human shape he could have done little more than conceive of him as a person built sturdily and having arms long enough to clutch at desirable objects at a distance and pull them towards himself and to push undesirable objects far away. And if early man had thought of putting weapons or implements in the god's hands to help him in his efforts he could, in those early days when complex implements and instruments had not been devised, have thought of none more handy than a hatchet with which to hack and hew through obstacles and a long-staffed crook which he could thrust forward, or a noose or lasso which he could fling afar, so that getting a hold on, or round, distant objects he could pull them toward. Our Lord of Obstacles, Vighneśa, does answer admirably to this possible conception: he

4. Foucher, in *Ib.*, xvi.

is armed with an axe or a hatchet and he holds the aṅkuśa or crook and he plies a lasso.

Whether early man in India had conceived of a god of obstacles and what forms he had invested him with, if he had worked out such a god, may not be pronounced upon without examining whether the *Ṛg-Veda*, the earliest available literary evidence for Indian culture in any of its phases, does not refer to him directly or indirectly. Should this god be discovered in the *Ṛg-Veda* a most important clue would be obtained to the growth of Indian culture.

Of godlings whose characteristics correspond in parts to those of Vighneśa-Siddhidātā there is evidence in the *Ṛg-Veda*: rather, we have the foreshadowings of the integration of aspects of more than one god of the *Ṛg-Veda* into a god who emerges ultimately as Gaṇeśa as he is known to-day.

Powers similar to those of Vighneśa are imputed in the *Ṛg-Veda* to an interesting group of divinities, the Maruts, the Winds-Gods. The Maruts interpose or remove obstacles in one form or another. They are capable of instigating obstruction and enmity;[1] evil can come from them;[2] with blazing weapons they assault those who incur their displeasure;[3] immoveable themselves they are subverters of what are stable;[4] they move mountains;[5] like elephants they break down forests;[6] and, again, like elephants they drive clouds asunder;[7] they are shakers[8] and agitators,[9] their function being agitation.[10] The impediments to achievement which they interpose are, thus, very formidable. The Maruts, have, however, countervailing virtues. There is no propeller, no obstructor, of him whom they protect;[11] they are invoked to remove those

III—1. RV., 1.6.4; 1.39. 8. Notwithstanding that I have had to gather my material from the *Ṛg-Veda* (cited here as *RV.*) in my own way, my obligations to A. A. Macdonell's *Vedic Mythology* (1897), are considerable, as is inevitable, extending, sometimes, even to the phrasing.

2. RV., 1.39. 8.
3. RV., 7. 56. 9; 1.172. 2; 7. 57. 4.
4. RV., 1. 64. 11.
5. RV., 1. 37. 7.
6. RV., 1. 64. 7.
7. RV., 1. 64. 11; 5.52. 9.
8. RV., 1. 39.
9. RV., 7. 56. 8; 7. 58. 4; 8. 20. 16.
10. RV., 3. 58. 2.
11. RV., 6. 66. 8.

who bear hatred;[12] they scatter hostile men;[13] they keep aloof every adversary;[14] they are doers of good works by which they promote the welfare of heaven and earth;[15] they confer wealth;[16] when they fit out their chariot the mountains depart;[17] they move and restrain mountains;[18] at their coming mountains and rivers are curbed;[19] they are destroyers and devourers of the malevolent;[20] they avert the stone and the arrow;[21] they come with their protections and devour enemies;[22] they are dispensers of a grace which helps the wretched across all anguish, and their power approaches the devotees just as a cow, teeming with milk, runs to her calf.[23] It turns out, thus, that the provoking of animosities and obstructions and the quelling of them,— functions which are found to be conjoint in Vighneśa,— are found repeated in the Maruts. The good and the ill winds that they are, they waft in impediments or they waft them away. That we are not wrong in seeing Vighneśa in the Maruts is shown by the interesting circumstance that the Maruts are, like Vighneśa, armed with the axe.[24]

The Maruts are numerous, perhaps a thousand,[25] or thrice sixty,[26] or thrice seven.[27] They are related to each other; they have a common origin;[28] they are brothers of whom none is older and none is younger;[29] growing up together,[30] none holding a middle rank,[31] they are of one age, one abode and one dignity;[32] they are of one mind.[33] So close are they that they form one group, troupe or host, gaṇa.[34] One illustrious name is given to them all,[35] though they are also found mentioned as grouped into a number of hosts,[36] being, thought of, sometimes, as seven sevens.[37]

12. RV., 7. 58. 6.
13. RV., 6. 56. 24.
14. RV., 1. 85. 3.
15. RV., 1. 85. 1.
16. RV., 1. 64. 5.
17. RV., 8. 7. 2.
18. RV., 8. 7. 34.
19. RV., 8. 7. 2, 5.
20. RV., 5. 61. 16; 1. 19. 5.
21. RV., 1. 172. 2.
22. RV., 7. 59. 9.
23. RV., 2. 34. 15.
24. RV., 1. 37. 2; 1. 88. 3; 5. 33. 4; 5. 57. 2; 8. 20. 4.
25. RV., 1. 166. 2.
26. RV., 8. 85. 8.
27. RV., 1. 133. 6.
28. RV., 8. 20. 21.
29. RV., 5.51. 6; 5.60. 5.
30. RV., 5. 60. 5.
31. RV., 5. 59. 6.
32. RV., 1. 165. 1; 7. 56. 1,
33. RV., 2.34. 3,5,6; 8.20.21.
34. RV., 1. 14. 3; 1. 38. 15; 1. 64. 12; 1. 87. 4; 3. 32. 2; 3. 47. 4; 5. 52. 13,14; 5 53. 10.
35. RV., 8. 20. 13.
36. RV., 1. 64. 9; 2. 23. 1; 5. 53. 11; 5. 60. 8; 8. 23. 4; 10. 112. 9.
37. RV., 5. 52. 17.

One Gaṇapati in the *Ṛg-Veda* is Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati, Lord of Prayer, who is gaṇānām gaṇapati,[38] chief of the hosts of gaṇas. All the companies, hosts, of the deities attend on him.[39] One of these companies of deities expressly and specifically associated with him is a singing host, gaṇa, that accompanies him.[40] Apparently, other singers too attended on him[41] and other hosts too were under his control, though we have no specific mention of them. His weapon is an axe,[42] glorified perhaps into a golden hatchet.[43]

That Bṛhaspati may be the Gaṇapati of the Maruts-horde, as of other hordes, is indicated by the axe being a weapon common to both. This is confirmed by three circumstances. One of these is that the Maruts are compared to priests,[44] whose chief is Bṛhaspati,[45] the wise priest,[46] and the Maruts themselves are profoundly wise.[47] The other is that the Maruts are singers,[48] making music with even the pipe,[49] and apparently forming one of the singing hosts that accompany Bṛhaspati. The third is that Bṛhaspati is himself an overcomer of difficulties.[50]

Bṛhaspati is also Sadasaspati, Lord of the Gathering.[51] This lordship implies naturally the gifts of speech and of learning and of the vision which headship of a 'sadas' calls for, and it secures for him the later distinction of Vācaspati, 'Lord of Speech'.

The Maruts are sons of Rudra,[52] the Śiva of at least later times, and they are known as Rudras[53] and Rudriyas.[54] The double character which we associate with Vighneśa and with the Maruts is an inheritance from the father of the Maruts, for Rudra is of the same double personality.[55] Capa-

38. RV., 2. 23. 1.
39. RV., 5. 51. 12.
40. RV., 4. 50. 5.
41. RV., 10. 14. 3.
42. RV., 10. 53. 9.
43. RV., 7. 97. 7.
44. RV., 10. 78. 1.
45. RV., 1.40.2; 2. 24. 9; 2. 1. 3; 4. 50. 8.
46. RV., 1. 190. 2.
47. RV., 5. 87. 9.
48. RV., 1. 19. 4; 1. 166. 7; 5. 52.1; 5. 57. 5; 5. 60. 8.
49. RV., 1. 85. 10.
50. RV., 10. 182. 1.
51. RV., 1. 21. 5.
52. RV., 1 85 2; 1.114.8,9; 2. 33. 1; 2 34. 10; 5. 60. 5; 7. 56.1; 8. 20. 17.
53 RV., 1. 39. 4, 7; 1. 64 2; 2. 34.13; 5. 42. 15; 6. 50. 4; 6. 66. 11; 8. 20. 17.
54. RV., 1. 38. 7; 2. 34. 10.

55. Śiva (Rudra) seems to appear under the name Gaṇeśa on coins of the Indo-Kushan king Huvishka: J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, (1941), 137-8.

ble of ill-will and anger,[56] fierce and destructive like a wild beast,[57] and none too slow to slay,[58] he is implored to avert wrath and ill-will,[59] malevolence and the slaying bolt,[60] and to preserve from calamity,[61] to produce welfare for man and beast,[62] and to repel all the assaults of iniquity.[63]

Two other features of the Maruts have also to be taken note of. They are a-rājinas, without a ruler,[64] a paraphrase of Vi-nāyakas, 'Sans-Superior.' They bestow imperishable grain-seed, which is life-sustaining and auspicious wealth.[65]

If, now, we assume an assimilation of features of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati we get a deity who in his functions and characteristics is Vighneśa, Siddhidātā, Gaṇapati and Vināyaka, and has a reputation for wisdom and learning. He becomes son to Rudra-Śiva. He is entitled to ply the axe of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati and to hold a book, as symbolising Bṛhaspati's wisdom, and a ball of rice in variation of, say, a handful of the grain-seed of the Maruts. The rat, or mouse, cannot but be associated with this god, for where the grain of the Maruts abounds there the rat abides.[66] The pomegranate fruit, packed close with seed, is an excellent symbol of fertility, abundance and prosperity and is as apposite in the god's hand as the rice-ball.

The test of the appropriateness of this surmise is that Vighneśa should bear the vestiges of his origins in the multitudes of powers represented by the Maruts and by the Gaṇas of Bṛhaspati. Vighneśa does satisfy this test: he is referred to in later literature as Gaṇapati in the singular[67] and as

56. RV., 2. 33. 4-6, 15.
57. RV., 2. 33. 11.
58. RV., 4. 3. 6. It has been well said that 'the only deity' of the *Ṛg-Veda* 'in whom injurious features are at all prominent is Rudra': Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 18.
59. RV., 1.114. 4; 2.33. 7.
60. RV., 2. 33. 1,11,14; 6. 28. 7.
61. RV., 5. 51. 13.
62. RV., 1. 43. 6.
63. RV., 2. 33. 3.
64. RV., 8. 7. 23.
65. RV., 5. 53. 13.
66. The mouse may be accounted for otherwise also, but only on later evidence; the mouse is an offering, paśu, appropriate to Rudra: *Yajur-Veda*: *Vāj. Samhita*, 3. 57; *Taitt. Samhita*, 1. 8. 6.
67. *Yajur-Veda*: *Vāj. Samhita*, 22. 30.

Gaṇapatis in the plural,[68] and his functions are found assigned to the hordes of the Gaṇas and Vināyakas.

An assimilation of features of the Maruts and of Bṛhaspati such as is postutated here is not an improbability. The assimilation of different deities, especially of deities taken in twos, is a characteristic of the culture of the *Ṛg-Veda*: for instance, Mitra and Varuṇa coalesce into Mitrāvaruṇāu and Soma and Rudra coalesce into Somārudrāu.

Not, however, till this God's association with the serpent, his assumption of the elephantine form and his approximation to such personalities as Gaṇas and Yakṣas are explained along these lines and the beginnings of his rise to Brahmanhood are indicated can we feel confident of the justness of seeing this god among the Vedic divinities.

IV

The serpent round the torso of this amalgam of the Maruts and Bṛhaspati may be sought to be accounted for on the assumption that it was received by him as inheritance from Rudra, it being notorious that Śiva, the modern Rudra, carries the serpent on his person as a great pet, but there is no indication in the *Ṛg-Veda* of an association of the serpent with Rudra. The *Ṛg-Veda* does contain broad hints of Rudra's unconventional ways but they are by no means enough to establish an association between the reptile and Rudra. The association of Vighneśa and serpent must have come about otherwise.

Another Gaṇapati is known to the *Ṛg-Veda*, and he is Indra, who too is called Lord of Hordes or Companies, gaṇas,[1] and Leader of Hosts, human and divine.[2] He has the Maruts for such close companions and attendants,[3]— even as attendant priests,[4]— that he is at least once referred to as brother or father of the Maruts[5] and he is frequently said to be the deity attended on by the Maruts. Indeed, he is chief of the Maruts[6] and his exploits are mostly achieved in their

68. *Ib.*, 16. 25.

IV—1. RV., 10. 112. 9.
2. RV., 3. 34. 2.
3. RV., 1. 23. 7; 3. 32. 2; 3. 35. 9.
4. RV., 5. 29. 3; 10.78. 1
5. RV., 1. 100. 5
6. RV.. 1. 170. 2; 1. 23. 8; 3. 47. 5.

company.[7] Like a wild elephant he roams showering his bounty.[8] These are unmistakable similarities between our god and Indra.[9] In the most notable of Indra's victories,— an epic one over the demon Vṛtra in which he slew the demon and obtained the title of Vṛtra-Slayer,— his principal associates were the Maruts;[10] so eager were they in the slaying that they demolished his precious limbs and rent him joint by joint.[11] Vṛtra was great obstructor[12] and his slaughter brought about a removal of the obstruction.[13] His form is that of ahi, serpent, and the names Vṛtra and Ahi are applied to him indifferently.[14] If we assume that Indra, vanquishing Vṛtra the serpent, wore him on his person as trophy, quelled or killed, we shall not find it difficult to accept that the similarities between Vighneśa and Indra are so close that it is beyond contradiction that Indra is one of the gods who has gone to the making of Gaṇeśa.

Confirmation of this conviction is found in such circumstances as the crook being a weapon which Indra is invoked to use for bestowing wealth[15] and offerings of grain[16] and of graincakes[17] being made to Indra and the rat being, therefore, in close, though covert, proximity to Indra. The assimilation that later operated to merge Indra in Viṣṇu led apparently to Vighneśa being accepted for a camp-follower of Viṣṇu.[18]

The Maruts have a higher function than the dissolving of obstacles to material prosperity. Swift to hear the repining sighs of the worshipper, they implant themselves in his

7. RV., 1. 100; 1. 165; 10.65.
8. RV., 8. 33. 8.
9. It is likely that Indra was represented as an elephant on coins of two Indo-Greek kings,— Eucratides and Antialcidas: Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (1941), 162-3. See my *Some Survivals of the Harappa Culture* (1942), 44-5, fn. 83.
10. RV., 1.23.9; 8. 65. 2, 3; 3. 47. 3, 4; 8. 7. 24; 3. 32. 4; 10. 73.1; 10. 113. 3.
11. RV., 10. 73. 6; 8. 7. 23.
12. RV., 6. 20. 2; 6. 72. 3; 4. 17. 3; 10. 113. 8.
13. RV., 1. 32. 11; 1. 51. 4.
14. RV., 1.32; 8.82. 2; 4.17. 1; see Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 152-3, 158-9; A. Bergaigne, *Religion Vedique*, (1883), 2: 204.
15. RV., 8. 17. 10; 3. 45. 4.
16. RV., 1. 16. 2; 3. 43. 4; 3. 52. 7.
17. RV., 3. 52. 8.
18. See fn. 1 above.

heart, purify him, cure his defects, convey him beyond sin and confer bliss on him.[19] These are the elements from which flows the identification of Vighneśa with Brahman.

The Vighneśa who emerges from this assimilation of features of the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra is a perfect counterpart of the Vighneśa of popular Hinduism, including that aspect of it in which Vighneśa is Brahman, except for the lack of the elephantine features.

V

In the *Ṛg-Veda* a few gods are compared to animals and a few individual animals are thought of as godlings, and it is in accord with this tenor that, as pointed out earlier, the Maruts are compared to elephants in breaking down forests and driving clouds apart and Indra to a wild elephant on the rampage which showers bountifully the peculiar liquid which it develops in seasons of rut.[1] A fancy was current in later times that four huge elephants of another region, including Airāvata, seized with their trunks the winds which blew there irregularly from all directions and then let them out so as to reach this earth and make the creatures here breathe and live.[2] This is a clear association of elephants with the Maruts and it may well have come down from early times,[3] there being nothing in it to mark it as a late development. Apparently, associations such as these had commended themselves greatly to the people among whom the *Ṛg-Veda* had arisen when they realised that the elephant was an excellent theriomorphic counterpart to the anthropomorphic Maruts.

Had the rhapsodists of the *Ṛg-Veda* deliberately set about conceiving of the Lord of Obstacles,— the version in the singular of the plural Maruts,— in the guise of an animal, their search for a beast which could play the role must inevitably have led them to one of two creatures,— the ape with its pair of arms which it uses just as an anthropomorphic Vighneśa may use his, or to the elephant, the animal with one long and powerful arm which it may stretch forward or sideward to pull or push together, or to scatter pell-mell, to drag and pile up impediments in the path of progress and to push away and thrust

19. RV., 10.36.7; 2.34.15; 6.66.4.

V.—1. RV., 1. 64. 7, 11; 5. 52. 9.
2. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhīshma-*) : 12: 32-8.
3. The Maruts blow the clouds hither and thither, and Indra and Vishṇu ride the clouds: RV., 1.155.1.

aside obstacles. The choice fell on the elephant for, probably, the reasons that the similarity to the Maruts and to Indra was already established, as in the *Rg-Veda*, and, perhaps, the ape stood excluded because of another form, or derivative, of the Maruts, the ape-looking Hanumān, having already been evolved. The elephant has the stolidity and nobility appropriate to the role of Lord of Obstacles and it is not inapt to learn to hold the hatchet or the crook in its proboscis and to ply hatchet and crook so as to augment the reach of the proboscis. Indeed, it is the only animal that may appropriately fill the character of Vighneśa. Had the Ṛg-Vedic people, accepting the elephant for the animal version of the Maruts as Lords of Obstacles, asked it to rear on its hind legs so as to befit it to take rank, as the Maruts, beside their anthropomorphic gods, they would straightaway have had their Gajānana, Elephant-Face, and Lambodara, Pot-Belly, the perfect prototype of the Gaṇeśa of all subsequent time. The aṅkuśa, the elephant-goad, is an appropriate transformation of the crook. The rat is an inevitable attendant on the elephant which has an insatiable appetite for grain. The intelligence of the elephant being proverbial the affinity of the beast to Bṛhaspati is undeniable. The elephant's delight in sucking up water in its trunk and discharging it in showers over himself or at those who stand nearby and its proneness to exude voluminously a special liquid when it is in rut are paralleled by the readiness with which the Maruts, taking after their father Rudra, who is a showerer,[4] take pride in their abounding in drops[5] and prove themselves generous showerers[6] and shedders of water[7],—rain.[8]

There can now be no doubt about our Vighneśa-Gaṇapati-Gajānana being no other than Maruts-Rudra-Bṛhaspti-Indra.[9]

4. RV., 1.87.4; 8. 20. 3.
5. RV., 6.66.3; 7.58.5.
6. RV., 7.56.18,20,21; 7.58.6.
7. RV., 7. 56. 12.
8. RV., 1. 38. 9. The idea that elephants blow the winds out of their trunks, *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhishma-*): 12: 36-8, must go back to a time when the association of the Maruts with the elephant started.
9. A curious tale of the origin of the elephant occurs in Vedic literature. Aditi, having brought forth seven sons, well-formed, 'the gods, sons of Aditi', gave birth also to an eighth son,

VI

It is clearly not as a beast that the elephant entered the Hindu Pantheon. The moment the animal reared up and walked erect into the Pantheon, asseverating that it was the Marut-horde, its pendulous proboscis and its protuberant paunch caught the popular eye unduly and obscured its great height; the animal godling came to be taken for a short and fat Gaṇa and for a thick-set and pot-bellied Yaksha.[1] But, these fancies of resemblances led to curious results. Apparently, his devotees felt that for their god to pertain to a mere gaṇa was for him to be too undistinguished and, so, perhaps, they gave him rank as gaṇa-lord, Gaṇapati, and, in due course, identified him with Bṛhaspati, the Gaṇapati *par excellence*. Apparently, too, the fancy of the god's resemblance to a Yakṣa led to the rise of popular conceptions based on the different significations which that name-word can yield, as is only too obvious in the *Ṛg-Veda*.[2] Firstly, derived from the root *yakṣ*, 'to hasten along, to rush after, to hunt, to try to injure or kill',[3] this Yakṣa god's identity with the swiftly blowing and potently injurious Maruts should have proved irresistible. Secondly, derived from *yaj*, 'to adore, to worship, to sacrifice, to give, to bestow', this Yakṣa god's eligibility for adoration and worship, and his ability to secure for his devotees the things they set their minds on, including success, should have stood emphasised, and should, in due course, have equated him to a combination of the Maruts and Indra,—a combination not unknown to the *Ṛg-Veda*. Thirdly, the word 'Yakṣa' having had also a

unformed, Mārtāṇḍa,— 'a mere lump of bodily matter, as broad as it was high'. The seven well-formed sons trimming this lump to fashion it as man is fashioned, Vivasvat emerged an Āditya, and the flesh that was trimmed off as excrescence and thrown into a heap became the elephant (*Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 3. 1. 3. 3-4). If this implies an association of the elephant with Sūrya, we may have to assume an assimilation of Sūrya as well in the emergence of Vighneśa.

VI.—1. This explanation had not occurred to A. K. Coomaraswamy: see his *Yakshas* (1928), 1 : 7.

2. RV., 1. 190. 4; 4. 3. 13; 5. 70, 4; 7. 56. 16; 7. 61. 5; 7. 88. 6; 10. 88. 13.

3. Muller (Max), *Vedic Hymns* (*SBE*), 1: 377, 335.

well-established application to a great power, or great divinity, being applied to Varuṇa[4] and to Brahman,[5] in at least later Vedic literature, the god's elevation into a great god should have been inevitable. There can, thus, be little doubt but that this god, in his egregious efforts to sink to mere gaṇa-hood and yakṣa-ship, managed to come full circle to his original and notable character of Maruts-Rudra-Bṛhaspati-Indra, and to take rank with Brahman, while yet remaining Gaṇa and Yakṣa.

Vighneśa-Gajānana is an unmistakable animalization of a deity who started with an anthropomorphic form as is vouched for not only by his origin having been in an assimilation of Bṛhaspati, Indra, Rudra and the Maruts, all of whom are deities conceived of in human shape, but also by the animal having been made to stand erect like man. The god had sunk into an elephant but could not go on all fours as his votaries wished him to go erect. Bestialization and humanization were at work simultaneously. This strange phenomenon is to be imputed to what, at first sight, may appear to be a strain of whimsicality in the fancy and the thought of the Ṛg-Vedic people. The *Ṛg-Veda* does bear testimony to this trait of theirs. Agni is both bull and cow:[6] he is son to Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, though they are his issue:[7] this dual divinity, Dyāvā-Pṛthivī, forms a group of a father and mother,[8] a pair of fathers,[9] a pair of mothers,[10] a pair of sisters.[11] Sūrya is animate as bird,[12] bull,[13] steed[14], and is inanimate as wheel,[15]

4. RV., 1. 24. 7; AV., 10. 7. 38, and *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3. 272. 454; 12. 207. 13, taken together, integrating Varuṇa, Brahman, and Nārāyaṇa: Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1931), 2: 2.

5. *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 1. 1; *Taittirīya-Br.*, 3. 12. 3. 1; *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka-Upanishad*, 5. 4; *Kena-Up.*, 3. 15; *Jaiminīya-Up. Br.*, 4. 20; all cited by Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1931), 2: 3.

6. RV., 10. 5. 7.
7. RV., 1. 160. 3, 4.
8. RV., 1. 160. 2.
9. RV., 1. 160. 3; 7. 53. 2.
10. RV., 1. 159. 3.
11. RV., 1. 185. 5.
12. RV., 5. 47. 3; 10. 177. 1, 2.
13. RV., 5. 47. 3; 10. 189. 1.
14. RV., 7. 77. 3.
15. RV., 4. 30. 4; 5. 29. 10.

stone,[16] and gem:[17] he has three fathers and three mothers.[18] The Aśvins are successively compared to two heroes in a car, a pair of goats, two women, husband and wife, a pair of horns, two troops and so on, variously and endlessly.[19] The Ṛg-Vedic mind flits from fancy to fancy without regard to consistency or propriety: even an accidental or an insignificant similarity is enough for it to found an identity on: a whim of a moment becomes a classic metaphor of an age. This cast of mind it is that appears to be responsible for the transformation of Vighneśa into Gajānana. This is no mere whimsicality. It is a strain of the mode of thought which has been inadequately termed Pantheism and of the spirit of eclecticism which is so characteristic of Hinduism. The genial tolerance which is a mark of Hinduism comes down from Ṛg-Vedic temperament.

It may be that a first thought was to break short both the tusks of the elephant Gajānana, so as to free the trunk, its hand, from the cramping proximity of the tusks and to make it more effective in dealing with impediments and it may be that when one of the tusks was broken a second thought came that an one-tusked Gajānana, son to Rudra, now appropriately Eka-danta, One-Tusked, could be set up as counterpart to Eka-śṛṅga, One-Horned, god associated with Viṣṇu.[20] Thus it is, perhaps, that Vighneśa became and remains one-tusked. The broken tusk, sharp at one end, was a handy lance, but was even handier as a stylus with which the wise god could inscribe the *Mahā-Bhārata* to the dictation of poet Vyāsa.

VII

So completely is the *Ṛg-Veda* able, thus, to account for the features and the characteristics of this god,— in every phase and in every detail,— that it is wasted effort to look for traces of any fraction of his make-up in a culture other than the Ṛg-Vedic. Indeed, it explains even how the notion of a white elephant got afoot when no elephant of that complexion is

16. RV., 7. 63. 4.
17. RV., 5. 47. 3.
18. RV., 1. 164. 10.
19. RV., 2. 39.
20. Śiva and Viṣṇu are both equated to this god; *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3 (*Vana-*) : 39: 79; 13 (*Anu-*) : 149: 79.

known to nature[1] except as a freak: the Maruts are, according to the *Ṛg-Veda*, white in colour.[2] Indra's white elephant is, in all probability, the Marut-horde, conceived of as the mount on which he sallied forth against Vṛtra.

The essence of the Vighneśa-Siddhidātā cult is the anxiety for the removal of obstacles to progress and to bliss and of sin,— the idea which the Maruts typify,— and for the achievement of that removal to enable success to be attained,— the idea for which Indra stands. The need for circumspection, forethought, wisdom, faith and prayer for securing the removal of obstacles and sin is what Bṛhaspati represents.

This deity is not found *in propria persona* in the *Ṛg-Veda* but is in it in spirit. It may be that if much more of the literature of which the *Ṛg-Veda* is only a tiny section were available to us we might find him in it, but it is indubitable that he must have grown into a full-fledged god when the literature of the *Ṛg*-Vedic milieu was still in the process of active growth and it was possible for aspects of the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra to get assimilated into a deity. While assimilations in the *Ṛg-Veda* into a composite god are ordinarily limited to aspects of two gods, the assimilations which we have to grant, if the suggestion advanced here is correct, extend to more than two gods at a time: the dual divinities familiar in the *Ṛg-Veda* stand supplemented by triple, and, may be, by plural divinities. This feature may or may not be a development later than the *Ṛg-Veda*: if it is a later one, the emergence of Vighneśa-Gajānana as a deity in his own right may be later than that anthology. But it may not be appreciably later, for the deity could not have arisen when there was a veering from the spirit of that *Veda* and the impetus to an assimilation of aspects of its divinities was growing weak.

It is not, however, till we reach a period a little prior to the beginnings of the Christian era that he is specifically mentioned under one or other of the names by which he is now known

VII. 1.—Foucher, in Getty, *Ganesa*, xvi, notes 'the peculiar regard in which the white elephant is held in those parts of Indo-China where Indian influence once prevailed', and yet despairs of an explanation. It is noteworthy that the Indian had no partiality for the human albino, equally a freak.

2. RV., 7. 56. 4.

to us,[3] though, even then, he is not found bearing the elephantine form. Similarly, it is not till the same period is reached that we chance on any figured representation of this deity, either in animal or in human shape.[4] So it is that it has been held that he must have had his birth in the comparatively recent times bordering on the beginnings of the Christian era. Now that, however, it has become clear that the god is a very ancient one we shall have to treat the much later literature and the survivals of sculptures as vestiges all too inadequate in volume for the tracing of the origins and the developments of gods such as he.[5] Not unless we are willing

3. *Yājñavalkya-Smṛti*, 1.271, gives the earliest reference, under the name of Vināyaka, if *Baudhāyana-Dharma-Sūtra*, 2. 5.83-90, in which the god is mentioned in his several names, Vighneśa, Vināyaka, Vakratuṇḍa and the like, is no part of the original work and cannot be assigned to 600-300 B.C.

4. A low relief of probably the first period of Amarāvati sculpture (200-100 B.C.) is the earliest figured representation known: J. Burgess, *Buddhist Sculptures of Amaravati*, pl. 30 (1); Coomaraswamy, *Yakshas* (1928), 1: 7. E. W. Hopkins, in *Epic Mythology* (1915), 206, concludes that the *Mahā-Bhārata* comes before Gaṇeśa is invented, little realising how old Gaṇeśa is.

5. How firm is the grip of the method developed by Anthropology and the allied disciplines, notwithstanding the inadequacy of their methods and the fallacies underlying them, including their failure to work out, for pre-historic or primitive cultures, any classifications by types or any systems of chronological stratification or of relative chronology and of dating the several impacts and interactions among these cultures, may be illustrated by the cases of two eminent scholars.

P. V. Kane in his monumental *History of Dharma-Sastra* (1941), 2: 213-7, 725-6, has given an admirable summary of what is known of Gaṇeśa. But, notwithstanding the discernment which comes naturally to him as the birthright of a native to the culture in which this god has risen and the profound understanding which is his as an erudite and versatile scholar who has not grown unsympathetic to that culture, he has been inhibited, by over-deference to the anthropological discipline, from giving due weight to the evidences we have of the god for the period prior to that in which the primitive cultures of the country could have had an effective say.

Coomaraswamy attributed Gaṇeśa to a culture other than the Ṛg-Vedic, not having first noticed the occurrence of the Yakṣa

to allow for developments for which there can be no testimony in the literary and the material remains which have sur-

idea in the *Ṛg-Veda*: see his *Yakshas*, pt. 1 (1928). Later, he found that the idea did have a place in that Veda: see *Ib.*, pt. 2 (1931). More: he had become convinced by then that 'quantitatively speaking, Indian art is to a greater extent than has been supposed, an illustration of Vedic ideas'; see *Ib.*, pt. 2: 16, 19. Still, he refrained from revising his early impressions: the incubus of Anthropology was still on his chest, notwithstanding that even early in his career he had delved deeply in that mystic literature of the west which approximates very closely to the spirit of the thought of India and that he had come into touch with Havell and the Tagores and Sister Nivedita, who had little regard for the methods of Anthropology. But, in three or four years after his *Yakshas*, he realised the utter inadequacy of the methods of the Pandits of the 'sciences' of Philology, Anthropology and Mythology and of their 'Comparative' versions to interpret the spirit, or to trace the growth, of ancient cultures like the Ṛg-Vedic or of modern cultures like the Hindu. Ever thereafter his strenuous endeavour was to ignore those methods and to steer clear of them. Evidently, suggestive work such as that of P. Mus on the Vedic origins of certain Buddhist notions, which, published in 1933, was just winning scholarly attention, served as catalyst in Coomaraswamy's mind and precipitated ideas which it had held in fine suspension. The scales had fallen from his eyes in even his youth, but the spell of the anthropological method had persisted. With his *Elements of Buddhist Iconography* (1935) he started a series of elucidations of the Vedic origins of things Indian which are of classic excellence. Such marvels of fullness, massiveness, clarity and maturity are this work and the numerous others on his theme which he kept on giving us in rapid succession that the material on which they are based must have lain with him ready collected for at least a decade and the conviction of the validity of what he was expounding must have been of even longer standing, though, unfortunately, he had declined them earlier acceptance and had denied them earlier exposition, through a predilection formed in early youth for the anthropological outlook.

Students who probe into Indian origins, especially Indian students, mistaking Coomaraswamy's works for elucidations of only topics of Art or of Buddhism,— misled by the titles of the better known of his works,— go in ignorance of the validity and the significance of the view of the development of Indian culture which he presented from about 1932 with a learning, a flair and

vived to us may we hope to progress in the elucidation of the transformations of Ṛg-Vedic ideas in later times.

It is necessary to confess that no account has been taken here of certain stories of Gaṇeśa which give other accounts of his origin. Of these mention need be made only of a tale which appears in variations; in brief, it is that Gaṇeśa was formed by Pārvatī out of the unguents which she used and out of the impurities which were washed from her body in her bath. It is not easy to see how tales such as these would fit in with the theory of origins developed here, but it is equally impossible to reconcile them with any of the theories now in the field. Their value cannot be much unless they point to a clue which is illuminative of this god's characteristics and functions. So fully, however, do all other relevant considerations fit into the theory advanced here that it is quite likely that the theory will ultimately receive confirmation from any clue which may be derived from these tales.

VIII

The probable lines of development may now, perhaps, be sketched in outline. The gods of the *Ṛg-Veda*, in perhaps even Ṛg-Vedic times, were slowly suffering transformations, mainly, if not solely, by diversified groupings of aspects of three or more of them, and through varied assimilations of several of them, which made them figure, in later times, as Brahman, Vishṇu, Śiva and the like. When this assimilation and transformation had not been long under way, Gaṇapati or Vighneśa was emerging as a distinct deity,— a malevolent-benevolent god,— with a status approximating to that of those gods,— the Maruts, Rudra, Bṛhaspati and Indra,— out of slices of whom he was fashioning himself. Through the tendency, characteristic of the Ṛg-Vedic age, to compare the gods to animals, this god, anthropomorphic at this stage, was apparently coming to be thought of also as an elephant, in recognition of similarities fancied to subsist between the gods of whom he was made and the animal. This secondary fancy of an animal-god on all fours[1] appears to have again given place,

a cogency which we may hardly come across for many another generation.

VIII—1. The probability of this god being represented in the elephants of the seals of the Harappa Culture is being examined by me separately.

in course of time, to the primary fancy of the god in the erect form, in answer to the imperative preference for an anthropomorphic over a theriomorphic god. At this stage, apparently, the god attracted to himself the notions that had long been current about Gaṇas and Yakṣas, two groups of ill-baked divinities which had resemblances to an erect elephant. But, the transformation of the Ṛg-Vedic gods was in inexorable progress. The gods of the *Ṛg-Veda* kept gradually fading out and its godlings were getting debased; this decay must by itself have been enough to pull Vighneśa down to the level to which had fallen the Ṛg-Vedic gods of whom he was composed and even to that of the godlings to whom he bore a resemblance. Perhaps, at this stage, was established an equation which too pulled him low. Based on the plurality of the Maruts, gods who were as malevolent as they were benevolent, and on the plurality of the Vināyakas, a group of Gaṇa demons notorious for their malevolence, this malevolent-benevolent god, Vi-Nāyaka, 'Sans-Superior', was exalted to the captaincy of the demons, the Vināyakas.[2] Yet another factor pulling him down was the conviction which once prevailed that Gaṇas and Yakṣas were deities only to men of the 'middling sort',— those of the Rājasa type. Contrary forces, however, were evidently active at the same time. The assimilation-transformation of the Ṛg-Vedic gods into such unitary gods we know of as Viṣṇu and Śiva, placed, evidently, a premium on this god of plural character,— as the Maruts in origin, and as the Vināyakas by affiliation,— becoming exalted to the unity of an integrated personality. Even at this stage, perhaps, he was deemed Brahman, there being no reason why he should not have been so accepted, at least because each of those gods was already taken for a manifestation of Brahman.

And, the rise of the unitary gods like Viṣṇu and Śiva to a glory and to a grandeur greater than had ever been the lot of any of the component gods of the *Ṛg-Veda* and the application of the idea of the Yakṣa, of great power and great divinity, to the metaphysical Brahman of Ṛg-Vedic and post Ṛg-Vedic thought and belief, must have been processes operating to raise Vighneśa among, and, when predilections grew in vigour, to exalt him over, the gods of the transformation.[3]

2. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 12 (*Śānti-*): 285: 200.
3. *Mahā-Bhārata*, 6 (*Bhīshma-*): 41: 4.

The notions which lie at the roots of cults like the Śākta, the Pāśupata and the Bhairava have given twists to the Gaṇeśa cult, as to other cults, which appear to be foreign to the spirit of the prototype who had sprung from the *Ṛg-Veda* but we may not, on that account, decline to trace those notions back to the Ṛg-Vedic age, for we cannot but admit that they are much older,— as old almost as human nature itself. The pulls to and fro, and up and down, varied apparently in different periods so that, even before we have unambiguous references to him as Gaṇeśa, or under other specific name, he has been both Brahman and godling.

IX

It is fairly clear that Skanda-Kārttikeya-Subrahmaṇya, whom we are accustomed to think of as a late god grown up under auspices other than Vedic, is but the offspring of an assimilation of aspects of Agni, the Kṛttikas, Rudra, Indra and Brahman:[1] it looks probable that Apām-Napāt and Soma also, other Ṛg-Vedic deities, have contributed to the growth of that god.[2] Now, we find that Skanda's elder brother, Gaṇapati, is also Ṛg-Vedic in origin, notwithstanding confident assertions that his nativity is different. The Samskritic affiliations of these gods were plain from the beginning and the Samskritic evidences are fairly early. Such non-Samskritic affiliations as had been suspected were neither clear nor as early as the Samskritic. For an appraisement of the character of these gods and of their evolution there was no need at all, prima facie, for looking for non-Samskritic origins nor for the dragging in of notions of origins and developments in primitive

IX—1. See my paper, 'The Gods of Harappa', in *J. Bihar Res. Soc.*, (1949), 34 (3-4): 52-68.

2. Skanda grew up in embryo in a golden well, *Mahā-Bhārata*, 3 (*Vana-*): 224: 13-4, and he was given suck to by the Kṛttikās. Apām-Napāt is offspring of the waters (RV., 1. 186. 5; 3. 9. 1); he generated himself as an embryo in the waters, of which he is the infant; he is given suck to by the three mothers; he shines amidst the waters; he is youthful and beautiful: (RV., 2. 35. 4, 5, 11, 13). Soma is the embryo of the waters (RV., 9. 97. 41); he is a child newly born and tended by seven sisters as mothers (RV., 9. 86. 36); the waters are his mothers (RV., 9. 61. 4); he is a youth among the waters (RV., 5. 45. 9; 9. 9. 5.); he is Gandharva of the waters (RV., 10. 13. 5).

cultures: it has turned out they have no particle of blood other than the Vedic. Had only the evidence in the earliest stratum of the Samskritic material available now, the *Ṛg-Veda*, been studied with care and imagination, apart from notions imported from Mīmāmsa, Anthropology and Comparative Philology, our god Gajānana would long ago have stood unmasked as the unimpeachably Vedic god we have found him to be.

It is quite clear now that in an investigation of cultural origins and development a hypothesis of an influence on one culture by another is not to be adumbrated unless it is found to be inevitable through a cumulation of evidence. Surface similarities or partial concords are not merely of no value but are even pernicious as false pointers: the similarities or concords must be traceable deeper and should turn out to be indices of either kinship or identity. Alien influences may not even be postulated until it is established that an incentive to development or an incitement to mutation did not, and could not have, come from the parent culture itself. It is of the utmost importance to an understanding of the growth of any culture,— and, especially of Indian culture,— that the red herring of influences from uncharacterisable and unstratifiable cultures, primitive or developed, is no longer allowed to be drawn across the path of investigation which Vighneśvara keeps pointing to with upraised proboscis.

X

Such being the processes through which Gaṇeśa was reached as a formulation, through processes allied to reasoning, we may easily trace the course he has taken in coming down to Vedic man as a precipitation, through human faculties that are not based in the physical senses. The moment we accept the various processes of the formulation of the god, motivated by man's anxieties and ambitions, as correspondences to the processes by which the divine keeps progressively revealing itself, aspect by aspect and from time to time, in ways and in forms which could enter human comprehension, we are able to realise that the precipitation of the divine down to earth, through the human mind, brought about by the impact of nature's phenomena on it, could lead to facets and phases of the divine appearing to man convincingly in numerous forms and shapes and with equally numerous attributes and faculties. Such forms and

shapes of aspects of the divine,— precipitations through the mind of Ṛg-Vedic man by impacts of nature on him in the the Ṛg-Vedic environment,— are the Maruts and Rudra, Indra and Bṛhaspati, as also the Gaṇas and the Yakṣas. Such a form assumed by a phase of the divine,— a manifestation through the mind of man accustomed to the proximity of the elephant,— is a godling in the guise of an elephant. As man grows into the realisation that nature's phenomena are products of an infinite variety of blendings of varied forces, his capacity to comprehend the infinity of the divine improves. The divine gets a chance, then, to reveal itself in blends of various of the primary forms and faculties in response to the comprehension of phenomena being blends of forces. Thus it is that the Ṛg-Vedic mind perceived such a complex as Viṣṇu or Rudra: thus also was it that a blend of the Maruts, Bṛhaspati, Rudra and Indra and the Elephant took shape and rank as Gaṇeśa. Hardly necessary is it to trace the precipitations further or into greater detail.

Where aspects of the divine descend to man's mind in symbols and in forms and shapes and with attributes all of which vary in answer to the impacts of the several phenomena of nature and in response to the several environments in which man grows up, as in the *Ṛg-Veda*, there is little need for man to proceed, deliberately and ingeniously, by way of formulation to create divinities. There is still less need, or scope, for accepting the play, in the *Ṛg-Veda*, or in much of the later Veda, of those psychological processes that are implied in theories like animism and totemism, they being needed only if the forms and shapes of phases of the divine are but formulations. Gaṇeśa, like other manifestations of the divine, can, thus, have no relation to the totem-animals, the village-gods and other godlings which throng the anthropologist's heaven. Gaṇeśa is Brahman in a particular embodiment which is a natural blend of a variety of manifestations.

Thus does Gaṇeśa present himself as formulation or precipitation, degradation or sublimation, ascent or descent, Beast or Brahman.

SUMMARY:

An appreciation of the ways in which man understands and gives form to aspects of the divine comes from a study of the evolution of Gaṇeśa.

Only in the light of Ṛg-Vedic culture can he be understood. Gaṇeśa, elephantine, serpent-wearing son of Śiva, who, in the plenitude of his wisdom, stands resolutely haling in and heaving off obstacles to achievement and denying or granting success, has emerged from aspects of the notions of the phenomena of nature which, in that culture, had taken form as the Maruts (Wafters of Rain and of Obstacles), as Rudra (Father of Gaṇa-sons, the Maruts, and Slayer), as Bṛhaspati (Lord of Gaṇas and of Wisdom) and as Indra (Serpent-Slayer and Lord of the Maruts and, later, Elephant-Lord), and notions of resemblance to Gaṇas and Yakshas in appearance and to the Vināyakas in temperament. Aspects of nature, apprehended initially in human shape, were being bestialized in form into an elephant and humanised into an anthropomorphic god. This was evidently in obedience to a strain of apparent whimsicality in Ṛg-Vedic thought, which is at the basis of what is inaptly called Pantheism. A Plural Divinity arising on the pattern of the Ṛg-Vedic Dual Divinities, Gaṇeśa rose to the supreme status of Brahman, when the spirit of the *Ṛg-Veda* was yet active, but, through the Yaksha association and the elephant form, and perhaps through the fierce devotion of votaries of the Pāśupata, the Śākta and the Bhairava cults, he looks now a fallen scion of good and great stock.

A hypothesis of influence on Vedic culture by another may not be adumbrated as no other culture of that age in contact with it has been shown to have had even parallel notions.

If Gaṇeśa could be deemed by the man of science to be a god who, fabricated by man, out of shapes which he gives to aspects of nature's powers, for serving him for patron or protector, helps him in his despairs and ambitions, he may equally well be deemed by the man of faith to be a precipitation to earth of aspects of the divine, which, taking a shape picturing aspects of nature's powers, dwells with him and vouches him safety and salvation. Formulation and Precipitation, as mutual converses, account with equal appositeness for this God, whether as Beast or as Brahman.

SOBRIQUETS IN SANSKRIT[1]

BY

Dr. V. RAGHAVAN

The name 'sobriquet' has been adopted here for the subject of this paper, not only because a more appropriate term is not available, but because writers like Thomas[2] have already used it in this same context. A few of these sobriquets, especially those associated with the celebrated poets, Kālidāsa, Bhāravi, Māgha and others, are very well-known; of the less known sobriquets, a few have no doubt been noted by writers[3], but this paper endeavours to present all such sobriquets that can be gathered, from the anthologies mostly which abound in them.

Of Sanskrit works on Alaṅkāra, none has taken any note of such names; but I find that Vinayacandra in his Kaviśikṣā preserved in a Pattan Ms. (Dalal's Catalogue, GOS. 76, pp. 46-50; p. 105 of the Ms.) makes a reference to the similes figuring in these names as wrought purely by the poet's *Praudhokti* and mentions five such sobriquets:

कविप्रौढोक्तिमात्रनिष्पन्नोपमा यथा — घण्टामाघः, छत्रभारविः, दीपिकाकालिदासः, यमुनात्रिविक्रमः, धनपालारघट्ट इत्यादि ।

The sobriquet meant here is either an epithet or a name given to a poet by virtue of a striking simile or fancy conceived by him. To take the best known example, (1) Kālidāsa earned for himself the name *Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa* for one of his most striking comparisons, *viz.*, that of Indumatī moving in the svayamvara-hall to a light moving in the night on the highway.

सञ्चारिणी दीपशिखेव रात्रौ यं यं व्यतीयाय पतिंवरा सा ।
नरेन्द्रमार्गाट्ट इव प्रपेदे विवर्णभावं स स भूमिपालः ॥

Raghuvaṁśa VI. 67.

1. Based on an address delivered by the writer at the Sanskrit Association of the Vivekananda College, Madras.

2. See his Introduction to the Kavīndravacanasamuccaya, p. 67.

3. See for instance, Krishnamachariar, Classical Sanskrit Literature, pp. 404-406.

As Indumatī approaches each king, his face brightens up with the hope of being the fortunate object of her choice, but as the moves on to the next, is thrown into gloom; the effect here is brought out powerfully by the simile of the light moving in the night on the highway, lighting up the building in front of which it appears for the nonce and throwing the same into darkness the moment it passes on. These sobriquets afford us a glimpse into some of the vogues in the literary circles of old, and show how keenly the Sahṛdayas enjoyed, repeated and remembered noteworthy fancies of the poet, and gave expression to their appreciation of these flourishes of the powerful imagination of the poets; for it is these Sahṛdayas that gave the poets these names for the fancies which immortalised them in the literary annals.

Among sobriquets, there are two classes: one like the above, Dīpaśikhā-Kālidāsa, in which the author's real name is also preserved, and another, more numerous, in which we know poets only by these fancy-names. That these latter are numerous and occur only in anthologies give rise to a presumption that the authors of anthologies or Sahṛdayas who had by heart these striking verses did not really know their authors, and for purposes of record devised these fancy-names. This surmise gains some strength from the exactly corresponding phenomenon seen in the ancient Saṅgam collections of Tamil poetry where we find, besides a few poets known by their proper names bearing an additional sobriquet (Śiṟappuppeyar), a large number of authors of verses noted down by the compilers only by their sobriquets.[1]

1. My attention was drawn to this by Messrs S. Vaiyapuri Pillai and E. K. Natesa Sarma. See for *e.g.*, Kuruntokai, Dr. V. Swaminatha Iyer's edn., 1937, pp. 104-7, where the editor gives an account of such names: Gārgya, specialist in singing of Neydal Tiṇai, is called Neydal Kārkyar; similarly Peruṅkaḍuṅko who sang of Pālai being known as Pālai Peruṅkaḍuṅko; Kākkaippāḍiniyār Naccellaiyār for having sung of a crow. These have parallels in Carnatic music where musicians celebrated for their renderings of particular Rāgas or aspects of music earned epithets like Toḍi Sītārāmayya, Sallaghāli Krishna Iyer, Ghanam Seenaiyya and Pallavi Gopala Iyer. Of Saṅgam Tamil sobriquets in which we know not the real names of the authors, may be cited Neḍuveṇṇilavinār, the poet who said 'the endless bright moonlight', Kuppaikkoḻiyār, Kaṅgul-vellattār and so on.

The expression which gives the name is sometimes a simile or a fancy and sometimes a striking turn of expression or a charming or effective word. (2) *Bhavabhūti*, it is well-known, is not the poet's real name, and it has been suggested that the poet got the name because of that expression in a prayer verse of his, which is given differently by different authors:

(a) साम्बा पुनातु भवभूतिपवित्रमूर्तिः ।

(b) गिरिजायाः स्तनौ वन्दे भवभूतिसिताननौ ।
तपस्वी कां गतोऽवस्थामिति स्मेराननाविव ॥

Similarly the old poet who has given us the short yamaka-poem of twenty verses on love in separation in the rainy season is known as (3) *Ghaṭakarpara* because he swore in a verse at the end of his poem that, were any one to excel him, he would gladly carry for him water in a potsherd.

जीयेय येन कविना यमकैः परेण
तस्मै वहेयमुदकं घटकर्परेण ॥

(4) The name *Utprekṣāvallabha* given to the author of Bhikṣāṭanakāvya (KM, Gucchaka 12) is of a different class, the poet here taking his name after the figure he was most fond of. At the end of his Sundariśataka (KM, Gucchaka 9, p. 108) the poet himself, whose real name is Gokula, informs us about the origin of his sobriquet Utprekṣāvallabha:

भारत्यैव क्रियते स्तोत्रैः सन्तुष्टया द्विजद्वारा ।
श्रीगोकुलस्य सुकवेरुत्प्रेक्षावल्लभेत्यभिधा ॥

Occasionally it is also a theme which has been well-handled by the poet that bestows the sobriquet on him, *e.g.*, Priyāviraha.

The few more widely known sobriquets may first be dealt with before we take up the many rare ones in the anthologies:

(5) Bhāravi says in Kirāta., V. 39, that when the breeze blows up the golden pollen from the lotus and it hangs above in a ring, it produces the picture of a golden parasol. This fancy gave him the sobriquet *Chatra-Bhāravi*:

उत्फुल्लस्थलनलिनीवनादमुष्मादुद्भूतः सरसिजसम्भवः परागः ।
वाल्याभिर्वियति विवर्तितः समन्तादाधत्ते कनकमायातपत्रलक्ष्मीम् ॥

(6) The author of the Śiśupālavadha earned the name *Ghaṇṭā-Māgha* on the basis of S. V. IV. 20, in which he

described the Raivataka mountain with the rising sun and the setting moon on either side of it appearing to hang by the long ropes of their rays, as an elephant with two bells hanging on either side of it.

उदयति विततोर्ध्वरश्मिरज्जावहिमरुचौ हिमधाम्नि याति चास्तम् ।
वहति गिरिरयं विलम्बिघण्टाद्वयपरिवारितवारणेन्द्रलीलाम् ॥

(7) *Tāla-Ratnākara* is the name given to the author of the Haravijayakāvya (KM 22). In XIX. 5, Rājānaka Ratnākara says in his description of the evening that, as the circular discs of the setting sun and the rising moon were on the tops of the mountains of the west and the east, the damsel of the skies appears to have taken in her hand the two discs of the cymbals for keeping the *rhythm* (*Tāla*) for Siva's twilight dance.

अस्तावलम्बिरविबिम्बतयोदयाद्रि-
चूडोन्मिषत्सकलचन्द्रतया च सायम् ।
सन्ध्याप्रनृत्तहरवाद्यगृहीतकांस्य-
तालद्वयेन समलक्ष्यत नाकलक्ष्मीः ॥

(8) Trivikrama, in his Nalacampū VI. 1, describes the evening sky, bright at the east with moonrise and dark at the west with sunset, as looking like the confluence of the Ganges and the Yamunā:

उदयगिरिगतायां प्राक्प्रभापाण्डुतायां-
मनुसरति निशीथे शृङ्गमस्ताचलस्य ।
जयति किमपि तेजः साम्प्रतं व्योममध्ये
सलिलमिव विभिन्नं जाह्नवं यामुनं च ॥

The verse gave him the name *Yamunā-Trivikrama*. While actually he described the sky as having the mingling of both the Gaṅgā and the Yamunā, the reason why the Yamunā alone was taken as his sobriquet is that whereas the Ganges as Ākāśagaṅgā was well-known in the higher regions, it was the Yamunā that the poet for the first time ascribed to those regions. The commentator, Caṇḍapāla, makes a further cāṭu on the poet and this sobriquet of his by saying that while the ancient Trivikrama (avatāra of Viṣṇu) created with his pada (foot) only a Gaṅgā in the heavens, this new Trivikrama (the poet) created with his pada (expression) the Yamunā too;

प्राच्याद्विष्णुपदीहेतोः अपूर्वोऽयं त्रिविक्रमः ।
निर्ममे विमलं व्योम्नि यत्पदं यमुनामपि ॥

(9) *Araghaṭṭa-Dhanapāla.* In the list of sobriquets mentioned in Vinayacandra's Kaviśikṣā quoted above, we find a Dhanapāla with the sobriquet Araghaṭṭa. This is evidently the author of the prose romance Tilakamañjarī, and in the stories told of him and King Bhoja in Merutuṅga's Prabandhacintāmaṇi, we have a cāṭu on the king's prowess and the suffering of the ladies of the enemies in which the poet describes these ladies as drawing out of the deep well of their cares with the wheel of their grief the water of tears which poured over and collected in the pitchers of their breasts. It is this verse and the idea of the *wheel* of sorrow that gave the poet the sobriquet Araghaṭṭa.

चिन्तागम्भीरकूपादनवरचलद्भूरिशोकारघट्ट-
व्याकृष्टं निःश्वसन्त्यः पृथुनयनघटीयन्त्रमुक्ताश्रुधारम् ।
नासावंशप्रणालीविषमपथपतद्बाष्पपानीयमेता
देव ! त्वद्वैरिनार्यः स्तनकलशयुगेनाभिरामं वहन्ति ॥

See p. 6. Skt. Intro. to *Tilakamañjarī*, KM. 85; *Prabandhacintāmaṇi*, Singhi Jaina Series No. 1, p. 40.

(10) Amaracandra, author of the Bālabhārata (KM 45) is known as *Veṇikṛpāṇa.*

दधिमथनविलोलल्लोलदग्वेणिदम्भा-
दयमदयमनङ्गो विश्वविश्वैकजेता ।
भवपरिभवकोपत्यक्तबाणः कृपाण-
श्रममिव दिवसादौ व्यक्तशक्तिर्व्यनक्ति ॥

I. xi. 6.

In a very beautiful picture of the damsels churning curd at dawn, Amaracandra says that as their bodies sway in the act of churning, and their long plaits of hair swing this side and that, it appears as if the lord of love, having given up his useless arrows after the discomfiture suffered at Śiva's hands, has taken up the *sword* of the long *plaited hair* of these women as his weapon and is practising morning exercises with it.

Amaracandra was evidently taken up with his own fancy of 'Veṇī-Kṛpāṇa' as we find him repeating it in the same Kāvya in I. iii. 63:

नवकीर्तिदत्तसततामृतप्लवः परिछूनदानवविताननिष्प्लवः ।
अधुनापि केन कुसुमैर्न पूज्यते यदसिर्धृतः शिरसि वेणिमूर्तिभिः[1] ॥

(11) Maṅkha, author Śrīkaṇṭhacarita, works a rather mediocre idea on the karṇikāra flower which is well-known for its bright colour and utter lack of fragrance, an idea found in the Kumārasambhava (III. 28). He makes the eye and nose, the two organs, quarrel over the defect and merit of the tree.

विवृण्वता सौरभरोरदोषं बन्दिव्रतं वर्णगुणैः स्पृशन्त्याः ।
विकस्वरे कस्य न कर्णिकारे घ्राणेन दृष्टेर्विवृधे विवादः ॥
VI. 13.

Jonarāja, the commentator, says that the poet came to be called *Karṇikāra-Maṅkha* on account of this verse: कर्णिकारस्य वर्णसौभाग्यं सौगन्ध्याभावश्च कविना युक्त्या प्रतिपादित इति कर्णिकारमङ्ख इति प्रसिद्धिः ; and the *Subhāṣitāvalī* (1660) cites this verse and confirms the sobriquet.

The sobriquets known from the anthologies may be conveniently dealt with in alphabetical order. It may be mentioned that while many of the verses and 'effects' on which they are based are indeed very striking, there are a few which are quite tame.

(12) *Akālajalada.* Rājaśekhara tells us that his great-grandfather was known as Akālajalada, and that a certain Kādambarīrāma made easy reputation as a playwright by using Akālajalada's verses. See the *New Catalogus Catalogorum*, pp. 6 *b*-7*a*. The poet was famous for his description of a sudden, heavy downpour of rain and his verse on the unexpected cloud gave him the name Akālajalada. Śārṅgadharapaddhati (Śp.) 777:

1. See H. R. Kapadia, Sanskrit Intro. to the poet's Pādmananda Kāvya, GOS. 58, pp. 17-18, where the editor quotes also the evidence from the Hammīra mahākāvya on this 'biruda' of the poet:

वाणीनामधिदेवता स्वयमसौ ख्याता कुमारी ततः
प्रायो ब्रह्मवतां स्फुरन्ति सरसा वाचां विलासा ध्रुवम् ।
कुक्कोकः सुकृती जितेन्द्रियचयो हर्षस्स वात्स्यायनो
ब्रह्मज्ञप्रवरो महाव्रतधरो वेणीकृपाणोऽमरः ॥

भेकैः कोटरशायिभिर्मृतमिव क्ष्मान्तर्गतं कच्छपैः
पाठीनैः पृथुपङ्कपीठलुठनाद्यस्मिन्मुहुर्मूर्च्छितम् ।
तस्मिन्शुष्कसरस्यकालजलदेनागत्य तच्चेष्टितं
यत्राकण्ठनिमग्नवन्यकरिणां यूथैः पयः पीयते ॥

It may be noted that the poet's description of rains was so celebrated that Somadeva employs the name Akālajalada for one of the minstrels singing of the advent of rains in his Yaśastilakacampū (KM. 70, Pt. I, pp. 543-48). The verse lends itself to be taken as an Anyāpadeśa on a patron and the sudden manifestation on his part of munificence, and it is in such a context that the Bhojaprabandha uses it (śl. 201).

(13) *Aparādhasundara* is the name of an anonymous poet based on an appealing devotional verse of his in which he gives beautiful expression to the double sin of his being without obeisance to Śiva in the previous birth as well in the future one; for had be bowed to Śiva in the past, he would not have taken the present birth, and were he to bow now, he would have no further births and consequently no more chance to pay respects to Śiva.

वपुःप्रादुर्भावादनुमितमिदं जन्मनि पुरा
पुरारे न प्रायः क्वचिदपि भवन्तं प्रणतवान् ।
नमन्मुक्तः सम्प्रत्यहमतनुरग्रेऽप्यनतिमान्
महेश क्षन्तव्यं तदिदमपराधद्वयमपि ॥

Sūktimuktāvalī (Smv.) p. 460.

(14) *Kapolakavi.* This poet gets this name for a fancy of his about the cheeks of a damsel. The poet says that the creator splits the moon in two parts and makes them into the cheeks of the lady, and it is the drops of ambrosia trickling from the just-split halves of the moon that form her teeth.

द्विधा विधाय शीतांशुं कपोलौ कृतवान्विधिः ।
तन्व्यास्तद्रसनिष्यन्दबिन्दवो रदनावली ॥

Smv. p. 181; Śp. 3315.

(15) *Karṇotpala.* The blue lily adorning the lady's ear came to her rescue when at night, the lover began playing with her and she had to fling that flower at the lamp to put it out and prevent it from exposing her modesty. The idea of thus putting out the light is common (*e.g.* Meghasandeśa II. 4),

but the employment here by the poet of the flower on the ear for putting out the light gives him the sobriquet Karṇotpala.

अङ्गाकृष्टदुकूलया सरभसं गूढौ भुजाभ्यां स्तना-
वाकृष्टे जघनांशुके कृतमतः संसक्तमूरुद्वयम् ।
नाभीमूलनिबद्धचक्षुषि तया व्रीडानताङ्गया प्रिये
दीपः फूत्कृतिवातवेपितशिखः कर्णोत्पलेनाहृतः ॥

Smv. p. 275; *Saduktikarṇāmṛta* (Skm.) p. 152.

(16) *Kūrma-Bārhata.* Bārhata is probably the poet's personal name, and the sobriquet Kūrma attached to it is based on a very picturesque imaginative description by him of the appearance of Śiva consequent on the sudden exhibition by Him of His forceful Tāṇḍava. The all-powerful Lord, in His fervour, did not pay a moment's thought to the sad fact that the universe might not stand the impact of his dance; and as He flung and swayed His limbs, they struck, pierced and protruded out of the confines of the Brahmāṇḍa; the head came out on top, the feet below and the hands at the sides, and to one who would look on from the outside only the mobile head, hands and feet, the image which would occur to his mind was that of a tortoise in water with the movements of its head and feet alone discernible.

संरम्भादविभावितत्रिभुवनायासस्य कामद्विषो
नृत्तारम्भविजृम्भितैरवयवैर्ब्रह्माण्डमुद्भिन्दतः ।
निर्यन्मौलि विनिर्गताग्रचरणं प्रोल्लासिदोःपल्लवं
पायाद्वो बहिरम्भसः प्रविचलत्कूर्मायमाणं वपुः ॥

Smv. pp. 21-22.

(17) *Krīḍācandra.* A toy-moon created by Pārvatī during her love-sports with Śiva gives the poet this sobriquet. The sickle half-moon on Śiva's head slipped down in the sport and the broken half of a bangle of hers was also lying on the ground. Pārvatī picked up the two arcs, completed a full disc, and filled up the body of that toy-moon with the lustre of the shining teeth on her smiling face.

च्युतामिन्दोर्लेखां रतिकलहभग्नं च वलयं
द्वयं चक्रीकृत्य प्रहसितमुखी शैलतनया ।
अवोचद्यं पश्येत्यवतु स शिवः सा च गिरिजा
स च क्रीडाचन्द्रो दशनकिरणापूरिततनुः ॥

Śp. 96. See also Bhojaprabandha, śl. 115,

(18) *Caṇḍālacandra.* The 'accursed moon' that adds to the torment of the forlorn lady is responsible for this sobriquet.

अम्भोरुहं वदनमम्बकमिन्दुकान्तः
पाथोनिधिः कुसुमचापभृतो विकारः ।
प्रादुर्बभूव सुभग त्वयि दूरसंस्थे
चण्डालचन्द्रधवलासु निशासु तस्याः ॥

Skm. p. 92.

The Tamil Saṅgam poet known as 'Neḍu-veṇ-ṇilavanār' affords a sobriquet that has correspondence with the Sanskrit 'Caṇḍālacandra'.

(19) *Candrodaya.* The verse giving us the sobriquet Candrodaya is not very striking; it is descriptive of the beauty of a lady; the last line asking the lady to hide her face in her palms so that poor 'moon-rise' may display itself is responsible for the poet's name.

प्रसीद गतिरुज्झ्यतां व्रजतु राजहंसी सुखं
स्मितं च परिमुच्यतां स्फुरतु कुन्दपुष्पप्रभा ।
निमीलय विलोचने भवतु हारि कर्णोत्पलं
करस्थगितमाननं कुरु विभातु चन्द्रोदयः ॥

Subhāṣitāvalī (Sbhv.) 2035.

(20) *Chamacchamikā-ratna.* This is an onomatopoeic sobriquet. The poet describes the sufferings of a separated lady; as she sits, with her eyes turned towards the direction by which the beloved should return, the fire of separation is burning in her bosom so severely that her tears falling drop by drop on the bosom, like water drops falling on a heated surface, get parched with a hissing sound.

तप्ते महाविरहवह्निशिखावलीभि-
रापाण्डुरस्तनतटे हृदये प्रियायाः ।
मन्मार्गवीक्षणनिवेशितदीनदृष्टे-
र्नूनं छमच्छमिति बाष्पकणाः पतन्ति ॥

Śp. 3455.

The adjunct 'ratna', we may hazard the suggestion, means a jewelled expression, a gem of a word, for there is another sobriquet in which the word 'ratna' occurs similarly, Sītkāra-ratna. (No. 39 below).

(21) *Jaghanasthalī-Argaṭa*[1] is the name of the young prince Argaṭa. He has a description of a lady's well-built physical frame in which he offers an explanation for the heavy loins: The Creator went on meticulously making every limb of the upper portion of the body into fine shape, and then, as if tired and in a hurry, just placed the flesh in big lumps on the lower parts of the body and sent the figure down.

वपुरनुपमं नाभेरुर्ध्वं विधाय मृगीदृशो
ललितललितैरङ्गन्यासैः पुरा रमसादिव ।
तदनु सहसा खिन्नेनेव प्रजापतिना भृशं
पृथुलपृथुला स्थूलस्थूला कृता जघनस्थली ॥

Sbhv. 1563; Smv. p. 188; Sp. 3354.

(22) *Jalamānuṣī-Rudra.* Poet Mālavarudra got this name for his reference to Lakṣmī born of the sea as a Jalamānuṣī.

एतस्माज्जलधेर्जलस्य कणिकाः काश्चिद्गृहीत्वा तत.
पाथोदाः परिपूरयन्ति जगतीं रुद्धाम्बरा वारिभिः ।
भ्राम्यन्मन्दरकूटकोटिघटनाभीतिभ्रमत्तारकां
प्राप्यैकां जलमानुषीं त्रिभुवने श्रीमानभूदच्युतः ॥

Smv. p. 368.

(23) *Jhalajjhala-Vāsudeva.* The Vigalitaprasthāna-patikā is a very delicate sub-variety of the Proṣitapatikā-Nāyikā; the manifestation of grief on her part on the eve of her husband's proposed travel is so touching that the beloved decides to drop his journey. Vāsudeva draws an effective portrait of a Nāyikā of this class whose tears fall in such profusion as to prevent her lover's departure. The sobriquet Jhalajjhala is onomatopoeic and refers to the gush of the tears.

प्रहरविरतौ मध्ये वाहस्ततोऽपि परेऽथवा
किमुत सकले याते वाह्नि प्रिय त्वमिहैष्यसि ।
इति दिनशतप्राप्यं देशं प्रियस्य यियासतो
हरति गमनं बाला वाक्यैस्सबाष्पझलज्झलैः ॥

Smv. p. 130.

1. The anthologies read Jaghanasthalī-*Ghaṭaka*; Ghaṭaka seems to be a mistake for Argaṭa which is known as his proper name.

(24) *Dagdhamaraṇa*, The 'accursed death', if it should not happen when one is separated from his beloved, where then would it find for itself an appropriate occasion?

यदि प्रियावियोगेऽपि रुद्यते दीनदीनकम् ।
तदिदं दग्धमरणमुपयोगं क्व यास्यति ॥

Sbhv. 1255; Sp. 3449.

(25) *Dorlatikā-Darśanīya*. From Sbhv. 1171 and 2504-5, we learn of the poet named Darśanīya, son of Prakāśavarṣa. Verse 1172 in the same anthology and the expression 'creeper-like arms' used therein conferred on him the sobriquet Dorlatikā-Darśanīya.

कस्माद्दोर्लतिके निधाय न चिरं द्वारोपरोधः कृतो
लज्जा वा किमु न स्थितापि रुदती रुद्धोत्तरीयांशुका ।
कालेऽस्मिन्कुसुमाकरे द्विगुणितप्रेम्णि प्रिये रागिणां
गच्छन्नग्रत एव मूढहृदये मुक्तस्त्वया वल्लभः ॥

Sbhv. 1172.

(26) *Nidrādaridra*. The sudden loss of sleep and consequent deprival of the pleasure of a dream-vision of the beloved gives a poet the name Nidrādaridra.

जाने कोपपराङ्मुखी प्रियतमा स्वप्नेऽद्य दृष्टा मया
मा मा संस्पृश पाणिनेति रुदती गन्तुं प्रवृत्ता ततः ।
नो यावत्परिरभ्य चाटुशतकैराश्वासयामि क्षणं
भ्रातस्तावदहं शठेन विधिना निद्रादरिद्रीकृतः ॥

Smv. p. 152; Sp. 3454.

(27) *Niśā-Nārāyaṇa*. The well-known author of the play Veṇīsaṁhāra figures in the anthologies as the author of a fine verse describing the love-sport of Lord Nārāyaṇa and Lakṣmī. The verse depicts the Lord as unwilling in his infatuation of the captivating charms of Lakṣmī to leave his serpent-couch; it is as if the *night* had not yet dawned for Him. The idea has therefore bestowed on Bhaṭṭa-Nārāyaṇa the sobriquet Niśā-Nārāyaṇa.

उत्तिष्ठन्त्या रतान्ते भरमुरगपतौ पाणिनैकेन कृत्वा
धृत्वा चान्येन वासो विगलितकबरीभारमंसे वहन्त्या ।
भूयस्तत्कालकान्तिद्विगुणितसुरतप्रीतिना शौरिणा वः
श्रव्यामालिङ्गय नीतं वपुरलसलसद्बाहु लक्ष्म्याः पुनातु ॥

Sp. 135

(28) *Netratribhāga-Brahmayaśasvin.* The verse given below, Vrīḍāyogāt etc., is a well-known one quoted in old Alaṅkāra works like the Dhvanyāloka (Ch. III, p. 132, N. S. Press edn.) for the high suggestiveness of a part of a word like the 'tribhāga' found at its end. The picture of that little glance that the lady stole with the end of the eye, weighed down by her sense of bashfulness in the midst of the elders the metrical appropriateness of the short syllables, 'cakita-hariṇī' comparing the quick, furtive glance that she took to that of the timid deer, and above all the expression 'netratribhāga' for the fraction of her eye that she cast on her lover, all make the verse an exquisite piece of composition. No wonder the author gained the significant sobriquet of Netratribhāga for that expression in the verse.

व्रीडायोगान्नतवदनया सन्निधाने गुरूणां
बद्धोत्कम्पं स्तनकलशयोर्मन्युमन्तर्निगूह्य ।
तिष्ठेत्युक्तं किमिव न तया यत्समुत्सृज्य बाष्पं
मय्यासक्तश्चकितहरिणीहारिनेत्रत्रिभागः ॥

Śp. 3464.

If this Brahmayaśasvin is the same as the Brahma-yaśas-svāmin mentioned in the Abhinavabhāratī, we have in this poet the author of one of our excellent Prakaraṇas, the Puṣpa-dūṣitaka, unfortunately not yet recovered.

(29) *Pikanikara.* In the Skm. is found a verse which works a fancy on the cuckoos' notes, and the unknown author of this verse is noted by the name 'Pikanikara', meaning 'bevy of cuckoos'.

वसन्तारौ मग्ना चिरविरहरुग्णा सहचरी
यदि प्राणान्मुञ्चेत्तदिह वधभागी भवतु कः ।
वयो वा स्नेहो वा कुसुमसमयो वेति विमृशं-
स्तुहीति प्रव्यक्तं पिकनिकरझंकारमशृणोत् ॥

Skm. p. 125.

(30) *Punaruktapada.* While most of the verses giving rise to these sobriquets are on love-themes, and a few of them are devotional, here is one of a gnomic character. The poet in driving home the truth that the utterances of rogues are full of contradictions says that, as if afraid of committing the literary flaw of *tautology* by repetition of the same consistent

fact, villains who are experts in traducing others, go on uttering one thing now and quite a different thing the next moment.

पश्चादन्यत्पुरश्चान्यत् पुनरुक्तभयादिव ।
परापवादविद्वांसो वदन्त्यविकलाः खलाः ॥
Smv. p. 58.

(31) *Pradīpa-Vasundhara.* The verse preserved in the Smv. p. 161 over this sobriquet is obscure in its import.

विलासिन्नासीने प्रतिवसतिमध्यं त्वयि तदा
दशां दीप्तां कृत्वा गृहमनु पदान्येत्य कतिचित् ।
मरु[त्त्व]न्तर्वाति द्रुतमिति भवद्दर्शनधिया
प्रदीपो [द्वा]राणां शत[मिति] तया किं न शमितः ॥

The theme of the verse appears to be the clandestine love of a lady and a neighbour; the query why she did not put out the *light* supplies the sobriquet, but the whole idea is not easy to make out.

(32) *Priyāviraha* is another instance of the class of sobriquets which are fashioned after the theme successfully depicted rather than after any particular fancy or expression. In Sbhv. 1920, 1921 given below, we have two verses presenting a touching picture of the pangs of the Cakravāka bird separated from its beloved.

दीनं रौति निरीक्ष्य तत्र सवितुर्बिम्बं समुत्को मुहु-
श्चञ्च्वा मार्ष्टि पुरःस्थितां सहचरीं दुःखेन मन्दोद्यमाम् ।
अस्तं यास्यति भास्करोऽयमुदयादित्याकुलश्चेतसा
चक्राह्वो न सुखं दिवापि लभते धिग्दुःखितान्कामिनः ॥

पक्षावुत्क्षिपति क्षितौ निपतति क्रोडं नखैरुल्लिख-
त्युद्बाष्पेण च चक्षुषा सहचरीं ध्यायन्मुहुर्वीक्षते ।
चक्राह्वो दिवसावसानसमये तत्तत्करोत्युन्मना
येनालोहितमण्डलोऽपि कृपया नास्तं रविर्गच्छति ॥

(33) *Bhavabhīta.* The Skm. p. 318 has a śānta-rasa stanza depicting one who out of fear of the transmigratory cycle has renounced life and sleeps indeed as happily as a monarch. The reference to the recluse as a 'Bhavabhīta' and the apparent paradox of a 'bhīta' enjoying happy sleep are perhaps responsible for this sobriquet.

महाशय्या भूमिर्मसृणमुपधानं भुजलता
वितानं चाकाशं व्यजनमनुकूलोऽयमनिलः ।
स्फुरद्दीपश्चन्द्रः सुरभि(धृति ?[1])वनितासङ्गमुदितः
सुखं शान्तः शेते ननु च भवभीतो नृप इव ॥

(34) *Bhikṣāṭana.* The drift of the verse over this sobriquet found in the Śp. 3778 is not clear. It is one of the verses on the theme of clandestine love in which an unchaste lady conveys cleverly her feeling to such voluptuaries as happen to go about as travellers or mendicants in guise or otherwise.

अनार्य प्रज्ञानामिह जनवधूनां हि मनसो
महाशल्यं कर्णे तव कनकजम्बूकिसलयः ।
भ्रमन्भिक्षाहेतोरधिनगरि बुद्धोऽसि न
त्वयैतावद्वेषः पथिक न विधेयः पुनरपि ॥

(35) *Bherībhramaka* is the poet who brought out the delicate sweetness of the beloved's voice by ascribing in contrast to the music of the lute the loud noisiness of a drum.

रम्भोरु क्षिप लोचनार्धमभितो बाणान्वृथा मन्मथः
सन्धत्तां धनुरुज्झतु क्षणमितो भ्रूवल्लिमुल्लासय ।
किं चान्तर्निहितानुरागमधुरामव्यक्तवर्णक्रमां
मुग्धे वाचमुदीरयास्तु जगतो वीणासु भेरीभ्रमः ।

Skm p. 101.

(36) *Yuvatīsambhogakāra* is another instance of a well-depicted theme giving its name to the author. Two verses over this sobriquet are found in Skm. pp. 151 and 154.

सन्दष्टेऽधरपल्लवे प्रणयिना हस्ताम्बुजव्याधुति-
प्रेङ्खत्काञ्चनकङ्कणावलिकलव्याहारमिश्रश्रियः ।
सीत्कारा हृदयस्पृशो रतिरणक्रीडासु वामभ्रुवां
राजन्ते विजयोद्धुरस्मरचमूक्ष्वेडानिनादा इव ॥

हस्तस्वस्तिकलाञ्छितां कुचतटीं सोढः स्पृशन्मुग्धया
प्रस्विद्यद्वलिवल्लरीकमुदरं गच्छन्निरुद्धो मनाक् ।
ऊर्वोर्मूलमुपेयिवानथ शनैर्मामेति लज्जाजडं
जल्पन्त्या सुरतातिथिः किल रुषा पाणिस्तलेनाहतः ॥

1. स्व-धृति in Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra.

(37) *Rudatī-Brāhmaṇa* or *Rudatī-Paṇḍita*. The portraiture of lady in tears (rudatī) standing at the doorway looking all day along the route of her beloved confers on this author this name.

विश्रान्तो दिवसस्तटीमयमटत्यस्ताचलस्यांशुमान्
सम्प्रत्यङ्कुरितान्धकारपटलैर्लम्बालका घौरभूत् ।
एह्यन्तर्विश वेश्मनश्शशिमुखि ! द्वारस्थलीतोरण-
स्तम्भालम्बितबाहुवल्लि ! रुदती किं त्वं पथः पश्यसि ॥

Smv. p. 140; Śp. 3420.

(38) *Vāgvīṇa*. The conceiving of a lady's voice as a stringless lute, a-tantrī vāg vīṇā, is responsible for this sobriquet.

अतन्त्री वाग्वीणा स्तनयुगलमग्रीवकलशा-
वनब्जं दृङ्नीलोत्पलदलमपत्रोरुकदली ।
अकाण्डा दोर्वल्ली वदनमकलङ्कः शशधर-
स्तदस्यास्तारुण्यं भुवनविपरीतं घटयति ॥

Skm. p. 69.

(39) *Sītkāra-ratna*. The poet derives this sobriquet by his eulogy on the all-glorious sītkāra uttered by the lady who had been kissed powerfully.

समादिष्टं शिष्टैः परमिह यन्निर्वृतिपदं
पुनर्दग्धोऽप्याशु प्रभवति यतो मन्मथतरुः ।
श्रुते यस्मिन् कामी भवति कृतकृत्यो रतिमुखं
स सीत्कारः पायादमृतविजयी सुन्दरदृशाम् ॥

Smv. p. 277.

On the adjunct 'ratna' in the name, see above the suggestion under the sobriquet Chamacchamīkā-ratna.

(40) *Sūcī-Gobhaṭa*. As in the case of the sobriquet Punaruktapada, we have here a poet whose telling didactic verses have made him famous for the illustration of *needle* employed by him for driving home the characteristics of good and bad men.

सूचीदण्ड इवासौ कुपितस्सुजनो मुखे परं तीक्ष्णः ।
छिद्रपिधानैकपरः प्रगुणः पश्चात्परं भवति ॥

अनुकुरुतः खलसुजनावग्रिमपाश्चात्यभागयोस्सूच्याः ।
एकः कुरुते छिद्रं गुणवानन्यश्च पिदधाति ॥

Smv. p. 53.

A few of the other effective didactic Āryās of this poet, whose proper name is Gobhaṭa, may also be found in the Smv.

(41) *Vakṣas-sthalācārya* is the sobriquet of Ācārya Dīkṣita, grandfather of the famous Appayya Dīkṣita. It is said that while having darśana at the Varadarāja shrine at Kāñcī along with his patron King Kṛṣṇadevarāya of Vijayanagar present there with his queen, Ācārya Dīkṣita uttered this cāṭu on the beauty of the queen:

काञ्चित्काञ्चनगौराङ्गीं वीक्ष्य साक्षादिव श्रियम् ।
वरदः संशयापन्नो वक्षःस्थलमवैक्षत ॥

Appayya Dīkṣita himself quotes the above verse as illustration of Sandeha-dhvani under Sandehālaṅkāra in his Citramīmāṁsā (p. 63, N. S. Press edn.) and refers to its author as his own 'Kula-kūṭastha' Vakṣas-sthalācārya and the occasion of the verse as the 'Varadarāja-vasantotsava'; we do not know if 'Varadarāja-vasantotsava' means a work of that name or simply the occasion of the Spring Festival in Varadarāja's temple when this verse was uttered.

(42) *Ratnakheṭa Śrīnivāsa Dīkṣita* was the father of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita and an elder contemporary of Appayya Dīkṣita. He was patronised by the Vijayanagar subordinate Śūrappa Nāyak of Gingi (*c.* 1465-1550). Once, at the instance of the king, this prolific writer described the twilight-sky in the imagery of a battlefield, in which the mountains of east and west were the combatants, the ruddy clouds cannons from which issued bullets in the form of stars, and the round glowing discs of the setting sun and rising moon, the *gem-set* protective *shields* held by the two combatants.

सन्ध्यासन्धुक्षिताम्भोधरनलिकगणादुद्गतान् सीसखण्डान्
ताराकारान् निरोद्धुं शशिरविकपटाद्बिभ्रतो रत्नखेटौ ।
अन्योन्यं युध्यमानावुदयचरमभूभृत्प्रवीराविति द्राग्
उक्त्या ख्यातापराख्यः क्षितिपतिवचसा रत्नखेटाध्वरीति ॥

See Adyar Library edn., Rukmiṇīkalyāṇa of Rājacūḍāmaṇi Dīkṣita, p. 2, verse 4, in the commentary of Bālayajñavedeśvara, a scion of the same line,

It is the conceiving of the sun and moon as bejewelled shields that gave this poet the sobriquet of Ratnakheṭa.

(43) Of the poetesses, Jaghanacapalā seems to have been a name given after her verse:

दुर्दिवसे घनतिमिरे दुःसञ्चारासु नगरवीथीषु ।
पत्युर्विदेशगमने परमसुखं जघनचपलायाः ॥

Padyaracanā p. 52.

(44) And the name Vikaṭanitambā too is, in all likelihood, a similar sobriquet.

There are some more names in the anthologies which are clearly sobriquets, but the exact verses which gave their authors these sobriquets are not recorded in them.

(45) *Asthibhaṅga* Sbhv. 1139
(46) *Uñcchavṛtti* Do. 1722
(47) *Jalacandra* Skm. pp. 8-9
(48) *Tilacandra* Do. Intro. p. 58
(49) *Bherībhāṅkāra*. Many verses of his in Smv. and Ŝp.
(50) *Manovinoda* Skm. pp. 83, 178, 179; Kavīndra-vacanasamuccaya, Intro. pp. 66-67.
(51) *Laḍahacandra* Skm. Intro. pp. 104-5
(52) *Līlācandra* Sbhv. 1586
(53) *Vākkūṭa* Skm. Intro. p. 112.

There are three names in the anthologies which are after the works of their authors. Thomas suggests (Kvs. Intro. 110) that the name *Śabdārṇava* (54) is a sobriquet based on Vācaspati's work of that name. *Viṭavṛtta* (55) found in Sbhv. 10 is after the work called Viṭavṛtta which is sometimes ascribed to Bhartṛhari.[1] *Kavidarpaṇa* Raghu or Rāghava (Ŝp. 3734; Smv. p. 289), found simply as *Kavidarpaṇa* in Smv. p. 459, is evidently of the same class.

Postscript: Dorlatikā-Darśanīya, sobriquet No. 25 above: Sbhv. 1172 is found with a different opening word in Ŝp. (3419) where the author is noted as Dorlatikā-Bhīma. Sbhv. 2504-5 mention Prakāśavarṣa as the father of Darśanīya.

1. *See* Kosambi, Śatakatrayādi-Subhāṣitasaṅgraha, Singhi Jain Series 23, p. 206, text of Viṭavṛtta, where the Sbhv. 10 is the opening verse.

ŚAKTISM AND TANTRAS*

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उद्यत्सूर्यसहस्रभास्वरतनुः सूक्ष्मातिसूक्ष्मा परा
विद्युत्पुञ्जनिभेन्दुकोटिसदृशी धामत्रयाध्यासिनी ।
तत्तेजस्त्रितयात्मकैकमनुभिर्वाक्कामशक्त्याख्ययुक्-
कूटैस्त्र्यब्धिशरर्तुभिः परिणता नित्यात्मिका पातु नः ॥

[That Parā—subtler than the subtlest, (finer than the finest, more excellent than the most excellent), whose transcendental and metaphysical—impersonal and personal bodies—shine with the luminosity of thousands of rising suns (of infinite luminosity), whose second aspect flashes with collective flashes of lightning (neither white not red), whose third aspect shoots forth quiescent and charming moonlight of hundred millions of moons, who joyously resides in three holy places, and whose continuous expression (reflection) of light or language is the code of VĀK, KĀMA, and ŚAKTI-KŪṬAS expressed in 3, 4, 5 or 6, and the primordial womb, grand-cause of all the causal series and their resultants, and who is eternal by nature, may She protect us.]

Reviewing the expositions of the revered sages and the ancient and modern philosophical, metaphysical and scientific achievements, we are in a position to say that the creation, preservation and destruction of whatever is manifested or non-manifested, depends on the manner in which the initiative ideating-motive of the cosmic plan subscribes to the formation and rise of the immanent cause.

The initiative motive of the supreme or the highest being has been variously interpreted: एकोऽहं बहु स्याम्, आत्मलीला, चितिः स्वतन्त्रा, विश्वसिद्धिः, and according to their respective hypotheses, the immanent cause is named: शब्दब्रह्म, अनाहत, अकृतनाद, आन्तरस्फोट, परा, प्राण, प्रणव, महाकुण्डलिनी etc.;

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Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika, expounding the cosmic evolutionary theory, attribute the authorship of the universe to the independent Īśvara, commanding eight principal characteristics नित्यज्ञान, नित्यइच्छा etc.; Sāṅkhya advocates the positive potency played by Karma, at the cost of Īśvara; Yoga, again, establishes the inevitable active hand of Īśvara, uncontaminated by five kleśas and their resultants; Pūrva-Mīmāṁsā believes in the eternal cycle of the manifested universe due to Veda and Karma; and Uttara-Mīmāṁsā preaches the upper hand of Īśvara qualified by Māyā—मायोपाधि ईश्वर. Śakti cult, either monistic or dualistic, propounds the cosmic theory becoming effective after the equilibrated condition of Śiva-Śakti is disturbed and the disturbance inheres in the very act of executing the mutually agreed conditions of the contract—one to act as the positive substratum and the other to paint the negative pictures on the background of the positive, negativating the negation in serial order with grosser and grosser paints, till the cosmic evolution is accomplished.

From the above evolutionary theories, whatever might be the transcendental or metaphysical position and estimation of highest author of the universe, it transpires that one problem is solved, viz. that the initiative motive is essential to inaugurate the manifestation of the non-manifested. This transcendental initiative motive must have been extraordinarily powerful, surpassing imagination, and includes or inherits or is pregnant with all the needed materials, so as to construct the unsurpassable monument of the universe.

The initial motive is in itself a composite of extraordinary metaphysical motions, and as such, is believed to be uncaused by any power inferior to the first initiator: The ŚABDA BRAHMAN—Great Vibratory Motion, PRĀṆA ŚAKTI—the very essence of all the vibrating bodies—that vitalises Prāṇi, ĀNTARASPHOṬA—आन्तरस्फोट—the throbbing of which pulsates the innermost nerve of life, ANĀHATA—अनाहत—pulsates and circulates everywhere, uncaused by any material means and remains always as AKṚTANĀDA—अकृतनाद—difficult to be manufactured by any hand. In short, we all, sentient and insentient, whatever may be the degree of negation, positively exist and live as such, due to the vital inspiration of this—परा, महाकुण्डलिनी or शब्दब्रह्म, instilled

in us. We are part and parcel of that. We are the factors of that grand fact, but as Paśu, tied to and bewitched with the negative scathes—Kañcuka, deriving possible pleasures from Kañcukas and deprived of the blessings of Śiva.

The above analogy that nothing exists apart from that Śabda Brahman or Mahā Kuṇḍalinī is emphasized in a different light by the modern scientists. The modern astronomers after explaining the perpetual youth of the universe say: "We recognise no beginning and acknowledge no end of the universe." "We can admit of no exhaustion of energy leading to a dead universe." The scientists say: "We can conceive of no space which is not occupied by matter in one form or the other of its two forms." "Mind in the form of desires and inclinations exists not only throughout the animal and vegetable kingdoms but likewise in a so-called dead matter. Even the molecules, atoms and corpuscles have a kind of sensation and will." James Jeans says: "The universe is a thought in the mind of God." So it means that the initiative ideation through the exercise of the immanent cause pervades all over the universe. This spread of Śakti is the main theme of Śakti Cult.

The main cult of Śāktism would be more clear when we analyse the ultimate attainments of different systems of philosophies. The ultimate achievement of Nyāya and Vaiśeṣika is to shatter the fetters of sixteen or seven painful substances. The emancipation of Sāṅkhya means the freedom from आध्यात्मिक, आधिभौतिक, आधिदैविक ताप, oppression. The salvation of Yoga means to get release from five kleśas and their resultants. The mokṣa of Pūrvamīmāṁsā is the attainment of heaven free from dual throngs. The Mokṣa of Uttaramīmāṁsā is to do away with the infatuation of nescience and get established in ब्रह्म—Brahman-Ideation.

The world, as it exists, is believed by various schools of philosophies to be the great source of troubles and miseries, and hence, a chance to labour for its opposite. At this critical point the Śākta Cult seeks departure and emphasises its importance. The creation is meant for enjoyment and emancipation—भुक्तिः and मुक्तिः. Best use should be made of both the aspects. In agreement with the scriptural injunctions, while converting the best available sources of the universe, as means of happiness, into happiness, one should come out

successfully through the ordeals like a hero and attain the highest transcendental status.

The close observance of scriptural prescriptions is essential to avoid misuse of the powers got during austerities. Because, "whatever liberates our intelligence, without at the same time giving us self-control, is fatal"—*Goethe*; "Self-reverence, Self-knowledge, Self-control—these three alone lead life to sovereign power"—*Tennyson*. It means that with physical and mental control, we can love God with all the mind, with all the heart and with all the soul.

The Indian system of Yogic and Tantric culture emphasizes the education of the physical and mental control, through various exercises, because the body behaves automatically and reacts mechanically to external and internal influences, in accordance with the laws of Nature; in higher spheres, the mind becomes a voluminous source of power and strength with mysterious and uncommon capacity, which can draw from itself more than it is believed to contain, yield more than it receives, and give more than it has. And really many ancient sages were stalwart spiritualists, and at the same time commanding mysterious powers.

मनुश्चन्द्रः कुबेरश्च लोपामुद्रा च कामराट् ।
अगस्त्यनन्दिसूर्याश्च विष्णुस्कन्दशिवास्तथा ॥
दुर्वासाश्च महादेव्या द्वादशोपासकाः स्मृताः ।
शक्रश्च चोन्मनी चैव तथा च वरुणस्ततः ॥
धर्मराजोऽनलो नागराजो वायुर्बुधस्तथा ।
ईशानश्च रतिश्चैव तथा नारायणोऽपि च ॥
ब्रह्मा जीवो महादेव्याश्चयोदश ह्युपासकाः ।

इत्यादि ॥ (श्रीविद्यार्णवतन्त्र ६ श्वास पृ. १४०)

These adored the Śakti cult. Again, the author of Ajātavāda, Maharṣi Vasiṣṭha, worshipped Tārā. We learn that out of the fourteen disciples of Śrī Śaṅkarācārya, nine were householders and followed the Śakti cult. The famous and esteemed authors of Śāradātilaka and Śrī Vidyārṇava Tantra—Śrī Lakṣmaṇācārya and Śrī Vidyāraṇya were the advocates of the Śakti cult and at the same time belonged to the line of the advocates of the Vedānta philosophy. Even Śrī-Yantra worship is

in vogue in Pīṭhas established by the revered Śaṅkarācārya. It means that the Śakti worship was once familiar to all.

The outstanding feature of the Śakti cult as bestowing both Bhukti and Mukti calls for some remarks: How are both possible? Well, the answer to this question lies in the answer to the question, "Who could be the best spiritual aspirant?" The greatest Nārada, desirous of spiritual knowledge, in a query to revered Sanatkumāra produces his academical qualifications:

स होवाच ऋग्वेदं भगवोऽध्येमि यजुर्वेदं सामवेदमाथर्वणं चतुर्थमितिहास-पुराणं पञ्चमं वेदानां वेदं पित्र्यं राशिं दैवं निधिं वाकोवाक्यमेकायनं देवविद्यां ब्रह्मविद्यां भूतविद्यां क्षत्रविद्यां नक्षत्रविद्यां सर्पदेवजनविद्यां (छा. उ. अ. ७.)

All these sciences and arts are:

अस्य महतो भूतस्य निःश्वसितमेतद् यदृग्वेदो यजुर्वेदः सामवेदोऽथर्वाङ्गिरस इतिहासः पुराणं विद्या उपनिषदः श्लोकाः सूत्राण्यनुव्याख्यानानि व्याख्यानानि अस्यैवैतानि सर्वाणि निःश्वसितानि। (बृ. उ. २. ४. १०.)

So, a Tāntric is expected to gain knowledge of all the above sciences during his various practices prior to the realisation of the highest spiritual Divinity:—

छन्दः पादौ तु वेदस्य मुखं व्याकरणं स्मृतम्।
शिक्षा घ्राणं महेशानि हस्तौ कल्पोऽथ कथ्यते॥
ज्योतिषं देवि तन्नेत्रं निरुक्तं श्रोत्रमुच्यते।
अङ्गानि वेदाश्चत्वारो मीमांसा न्यायविस्तरः॥
धर्मशास्त्रं पुराणं च विद्या ह्येताश्चतुर्दश।
आयुर्वेदो धनुर्वेदो गन्धर्वश्चेति तत्त्रयम्॥
अर्थशास्त्रसमायुक्ता विद्याष्टादशधा स्मृता॥

The realisation of the eternal Veda-Puruṣa consists of the knowledge of metres, grammar, euphony, phonetics, implications of religious rites, astronomy, astrology, glossary and prosody, ritual and theological philosophies, logic, social and moral codes, cosmogony, genealogy of gods and heroes, patriarchs, history of mankind, physiology, positive science of health and medicines, the art of war, singing

and crafts, economics, administration, Vedas, and last of all comes the monistic ideation of the identification with the highest.

A Tantric devotee is aware that a sincere devotee has necessarily to gain knowledge of the above-mentioned sciences during his practices leading to higher and higher stages, because the universe is the positive expression and manifestation of the Supreme Śakti.

कामो योनिः कमला वज्रपाणि-
गुंहा हसा मातरिश्वाभ्रमिन्द्रः ।
पुनर्गुहा सकला मायया च
पुरूच्येषा विश्वमातादिविद्या ॥
इमां विज्ञाय सुधया मदन्ति
परिस्रुता तर्पयन्तः स्वपीठम् ।
नाकस्य पृष्ठे महतो वसन्ति
परं धाम त्रैपुरं चविशन्ति ॥

'PRĀSA' IN BHĀSA

BY

U. VENKATAKRISHNA RAO, M.A.

How pleasing some of the anuprāsas or alliterations in Bhāsa are may be shown by a few examples picked up at random from his works. Many of them are as simple as those in the Sundarakāṇḍa of the Vālmīki Rāmāyaṇa: *e.g.* सीता भीता भविष्यति। The moment we read them we instinctively feel they are spontaneous or *'aprthagyatnanirvartya'*—'not arranged by any special effort', to use Ānandavardhana's phraseology.

But the very nature of verbal effects is such that even in great poets, they develop some artificiality, as for example in Kālidāsa's Vikramorvaśīya:

रथाङ्गनामन् वियुतो रथाङ्गश्रोणिबिम्बया।
अयं त्वां पृच्छति रथी मनोरथशतैर्वृतः॥ IV. 37;

or in Aśvaghoṣa's Buddhacarita:

दुःखार्दितेभ्यः विषयावृतेभ्यः संसारकान्तारपथास्थितेभ्यः।
आख्यास्यति ह्येष विमोक्षमार्गः मार्गप्रणष्टेभ्य इवाध्वगेभ्यः॥ I. 77

With the former in Kālidāsa can be compared the following in Bhāsa, Pratimā II. 11:

शून्यः प्राप्तो यदि रथः भग्नो मम मनोरथः।
नूनं दशरथं नेतुं कालेन प्रेषितो रथः॥

Sometimes this jingling assonance of words in Bhāsa is too prosaic and pointless, as in स्वदारापहारिणं चमूविद्राविणं रावणं, or in:

नारायणाय नरलोकपरायणाय लोकाननाय कमलामललोचनाय।
रामाय रावणविरोचनपातनाय वीराय वीर्यनिलयाय नमो वराय॥

Abhiṣeka I. 8.

Similar is the effect in the Ūrubhaṅga, verse 5:

उपलविषमा नागेन्द्राणां शरीरधराधरा
दिशि दिशि कृता गृध्रावासा हतातिरथा रथाः।

अवनिपतयः स्वर्गं प्राप्ताः क्रियामरणे रणे
प्रतिमुखमिमे तत्तत्कृत्वा चिरं निहताहताः ॥

or yet in Pratimā. IV. 17:

गत्वा पूर्वं स्वसैन्यैरभिसरिसमये खं समानैर्विमानैः
विख्यातो यो विमर्दे स स इति बहुशः सासुराणां सुराणाम् ।
स श्रीमांस्त्यक्तदेहो दयितमपि विना स्नेहवन्तं भवन्तं
स्वर्गस्थः साम्प्रतं किं रमयति पितृभिः स्वैर्नरेन्द्रैर्नरेन्द्रः ॥

The following are certainly entertaining, though they may not be of a very high order.

शब्दं मन्दरकन्दरोदरदरी	Ūrubhaṅga 15.
छलबलदलितोरुः	Do 57.
हरिरिव हरिणीनामन्तरे वर्तमानः	Abhiṣeka II. 9
तनयशतनयशून्ये दुर्योधनावशेषे	Ūrubhaṅga, Prastāvanā.
कुलद्वयं हन्ति मदेन नारी कूलद्वयं	Avimāraka I. 3.
सोऽहं मोहं गतोऽस्म्यद्य	Abhiṣeka II. 18.
वरद भरतमातं पश्य तावद्यथावत्	Pratimā. IV. 21.
अन्योन्यवीर्यनिकषाः पुरुषाः पतन्ति	Ūrubhaṅga 2.
निपततनुः शन्तनुसुतः	Do 61.

यो गाधिपुत्रमखविघ्नकराभिहन्ता युद्धे विराधखरदूषणवीर्यहन्ता ।
दर्पोद्धतोल्बणकबन्धकपीन्द्रहन्ता पायात् स वो निशिचरेन्द्रकुलाभिहन्ता ॥

Nāndī in Abhiṣeka.

पादः पायादुपेन्द्रस्य लोकनेत्रोत्सवः स वः ।
व्याविद्धो नमुचिर्येन तनुताम्रनखेन खे ॥

Nāndī in Dūtavākya.

The following is pleasing. Svapna. V. 5:

स्मराम्यवन्त्याधिपतेः सुतायाः प्रस्थानकाले स्वजनं स्मरन्त्याः ।
बाष्पं प्रवृद्धं नयनान्तलग्नं स्नेहान्ममैवोरसि पातयन्त्याः ॥

as also Abhiṣeka II. 1:

लब्ध्वा वृत्तान्तं रामपत्न्याः खगेन्द्रादारुह्यागेन्द्रं सद्विपेन्द्रं मृगेन्द्रं etc.

The effect in the following also is well-managed.

वक्षस्युत्पतितैः प्रहाररुधिरैः हारावकाशे हृतः

Ūrubhaṅga 51.

The first verse of the Karṇabhāra has *'ra'* as the second letter in all the lines:

नरमृगपतिवर्ष्मालोकनभ्रान्तनाटी-
नरदनुजसुपर्ववातपाताललोकः ।
करजकुलिशपालीभिन्नदैत्येन्द्रवक्षाः
सुरारिपुबलहन्ता श्रीधरोऽस्तु श्रिये वः ॥

The 1st line in Pañcarātra, II. 1, describing the cows: गवां कुलं शोच्यमिहाकुलाकुलं suits the occasion when the cows are being carried away by the Kauravas. The second letter alliterating in Dūtavākya, I. 6:

गतिमतिरहितेषु पाण्डवेषु क्षितिरखिलापि भवेन्ममासपत्ना

is also good. In Dūtavākya, I. 50, the effect adds appropriately the *ojas* required by the context:

दष्टोष्ठो मुष्टिमुद्यम्य तिष्ठत्येष घटोत्कचः ।
उत्तिष्ठतु पुमान्कश्चिद्गन्तुमिच्छेद्यमालयम् ॥

BOOK REVIEWS

HAMARI ADIM JATIYAM (Our Aboriginal Tribes) by Bhagwan Das Kela and Akhil Vinay, Bharatiya Granthamala, Allahabad, 1950. Pp. 380. With illustrations. Rs. 3-8-0.

The present is perhaps the very first book of its kind in Hindi. It deals with the various aboriginal tribes scattered all over India. Combinedly they constitute a very substantial part of the total population of the country. Most of these 25 millions come under what are commonly known as depressed classes. The writers' approach to the subject is friendly and sympathetic. They are not content with merely recording these folks' customs, manners, beliefs, rituals, festivals, lore, songs, dance and the like, but have gone further afield and given a detailed account of what these backward people have in the past contributed to India's struggle for freedom, what services some of India's selfless leaders have rendered for the welfare of this neglected section of humanity and what still remains to be done towards uplifting these under-privileged sons of the soil, socially, economically and politically, so that they become worthy citizens and useful members of society.

The subject-matter has been divided into five sections, each containing several chapters, the total number of chapters being forty-five. These are followed by four appendices, giving (1) samples of folk-songs, (2) ethnological analysis, (3) population of different tribes in different states, and (4) bibliography.

A sketch map, showing the distribution of the tribes in various parts, would have added to the value of the book.

Almost all the books that appear in Hindi in these days are freckled with misprints. The present book is no exception to this frightful rule. Attention has been drawn in the beginning of the book to a handful of them, while for the rest the reader's indulgence has been craved. There are some flaws which cannot be attributed to the printers, such, for instance, as बड़े लगन के साथ for बड़ी लगन के साथ on page 321. The promiscuous use of व and व cannot but cause annoyance. शवर and शवर used indiscriminately on page 158 may pass unnoticed; but, on the very next page, बिजगापट्टम् and वृहस्प तिवार cannot

help jarring on one's ears. Nor does the orthography of टिप्पन्नी for टिप्पणी and परिशिष्ठ for परिशिष्ट assort well with a scientific treatise as the present one is.

The illustrations are too few for a book of this sort and those that are there are of poor quality.

B. CH. CHHABRA

HOYSALAS IN THE TAMIL COUNTRY by K. R. Venkataraman. Annamalai University Historical Series. Published by the Annamalai University, Annamalainagar, 1950.

The period between the 12th and 14th centuries is important and significant in the history of South India. The gap between Kulottunga I and the founders of Vijayanagar was filled by the Hoysalas who successfully intervened in the politics of the Tamil country and also contributed to the culture and institutions of the region. The book under notice is an amplification of the two lectures that Mr. K. R. Venkataraman delivered in the Annamalai University in 1943.

In the first lecture the author traces the political influence of the Hoysalas over the Tamil country from the days of Ballala II and Narasimha. The Hoysalas tried to prevent the extinction of the Chola monarchy by the Pandyas and maintain the balance of power in the south. The power of the Hoysalas in the Tamil country had increased so much that Somesvara's son Vira Ramanatha came to be in charge of the Tamil provinces with Kannanur as his capital. But with the death of Visvanatha, his son Vira Ballala III became the sole ruler of the Hoysala kingdom. In the course of his deadly contest with the Sultans of Madurai he was killed.

In the second lecture, which is more interesting, the author deals with the nature and influence of the Hoysala rule over the Tamil country. Mr. Venkataraman feels that the Hoysalas more than any other ruling house made a distinct contribution to the spread of the Vaishnava movement in South India. They patronised Vaishnava scholars and made large endowments to great Vaishnava Temples in the South. The Hoysala endowments to Saiva temples were equally rich and numerous. The Poysalesvaram temple at Kannanur constructed by the Hoysalas is shown to contain certain distinctive characteristics. The Hoysala penetration into the Tamil country bore some important results. It led to the settlement of the Kannadiyars in large numbers in the region and the consequent end of

Tamil isolation. The religious movements in the Tamil country spread to the north through the Kannada country. Commercially the Tamil country became more closely connected with the Kannada and the Telugu areas.

This little book throws welcome light on a little-known period of South Indian History.

T. V. Mahalingam

Popularization of Sanskrit by G. S. Huparikar, Rajaram College, Kolhapur, 1950. Annas 8.

In this instructive pamphlet Prof. Huparikar gives in a nutshell the main lines of his inquiry into the question of the popularization of Sanskrit, a national problem which has to be tackled on governmental basis. The author summarises herein the matter dealt with by him in detail in his book "The Problem of Sanskrit Teaching", reviewed in a previous volume of this Journal (Vol. XVII. pp. 181-182).

The author establishes the importance and immediate necessity of popularising Sanskrit and suggests a judicious harmonization of the ancient and modern methods and simplifying the language without mutilating it, so that it might be accessible to the common man and not present any undue difficulty to the student. Some of the means that Prof. Huparikar suggests, like the adaptation of the direct method of teaching, enlisting the help of the provincial language which would contain a good number of *Tatsama* vocabulary, methods of simplification of grammar and concentration on appreciation of literature rather than on the technicalities of grammar, deserve commendation. The author also suggests methods for the compilation of graded textbooks and books for rapid reading. The idea of Basic Sanskrit, parallel to Basic English, with the essential minimum vocabulary and forms, enunciated by the author is a welcome suggestion, and if properly carried out, would substantially aid the popularization of Sanskrit.

K. V. Sarma

Tirukkural: *Poruṭpal* with the commentaries of *Kalingar* and *Paripperumal*. Edited by the late T. P. Palaniappa Pillai, Sri Venkatesvara Oriental Research Institute, Tirupati. Rs. 4.

It is still a mystery when the genius Tiruvalluvar was born. However, that the poets of the Third Sangam and

some who flourished anterior have quoted the apothegms of the Socrates of South India is beyond doubt.

Saint Valluvar has been placed by the Tamil poets and commentators on a par with *Nānmukhan* or *Brahmā*. They declare that the essentials of Vedas have been propounded in three divisions by Brahmā himself in the guise of Tiruvalluvar. In the Mahābhārata (*Śānti* 58), it is said that when the world was in a topsy-turvy condition, Brahmā composed his *Trivarga*, Dharmārthakāma, at the request of Devas, in a hundred thousand chapters. *Bāhudantaka*, *Bārhaspatya* and *Śukranīti*, the well known codes, came forth later. Like his predecessors, Śiva, Indra, Bṛhaspati and Śukra, Valluvar also might have composed his *Trivarga* or *Muppāl*, and it may be noted that before the time of Valluvar, no code like *Tirukkural* was in existence in the land of the Tamils.

There was a caste called Valluvar, whose profession was to carry out the orders of the Kings by tom-tom, seated on an elephant's back. Some of these were astrologers by profession. So, some scholars believe that Valluvar belonged to that caste, but this theory, though it has gained currency to some extent, stands discredited.

The author who composed this master-piece must have been a genius well versed in *Vedas*, *Śāstras*, *Smṛtis* and such works as the *Kāmandaka*, *Kauṭilya's Arthaśāstra* and *Vātsyāyana's Kāmasūtra*. The term Vallabha is synonymous with the words proficient, adept or expert. The administrative heads, who function as Ministers in a State or Commander-in-chief, were styled generally as *Valluvars* in those days. Without the considerable experience of an administrator and without a mastery over polity and statecraft, one could not have composed a classic like *Tirukkural*. Tiruvalluvar occupies a unique position in his *Arattuppal*, which enumerates the ways and means of performing *Dharma* as propounded by the foremost *Samskritists* under three heads: *Iṣṭa*, *Pūrta* and *Datta*.

The term 'Kural' signifies the metre. No less than ten authors have written commentaries on this classic. Of these, *Parimelazhakar's* is the best known and foremost, a position it had held all along till some scholars of today busied themselves to point out the so-called defects of this commentary.

A careful perusal of these commentaries will of course convince the readers that their authors were *Vaidikas*. In support of this, the following may be cited:

1. Iraimatci. Ch. 1 Stanza 2. Page 3—'அந்தணர் முதலாக இழிகுலத்தார் ஆகிய புலையர் ஈறாக'

(Kāliṅgar).

2. Iraimatci. Stanza 4. Page 4—'அருமறை முதலாதிய அறநீதி முடிவாக இங்ஙனம் தாம் கற்கத்தகும் அவற்றைக் கற்கும் கல்வியும்'

(Kāliṅgar).

3. Page 66 'இராமாயணம் பாரதம் முதலிய'

(Kāliṅgar).

4. Page 77 'அறுவகைத் தொழிலுக்கு உரியர் ஆகிய அந்தணரும் அருமறை ஓதலும் மறந்துவிடுவர்'

(Kāliṅgar).

The commentator Pāripperumāl quotes the systems of Vyāsa, Maheśvara, Nārada, Parāśara, Kauṭilya, Droṇa, Uddhavācārya and Śukra. He quotes the names of Kings from *Purāṇa-Itihāsa* and none from Tamil classics with the exception of *Saccanda* of *Cintāmaṇi*, one of the five Mahākāvyas in Tamil.

The Editor of this work under review avers that "ஒருவந்தம்" is a *Tanittamil* word meaning "பெருஞ்செல்வம்", and not a hybrid one as Sri S. Vaiyapuri Pillai has held. His arguments in support of his contention are as follows: 1. "ஒருவந்தம்" is a *Tanittamil* word. 2. Valluvar never used the hybrid combinations, but used only singly pure Samskrit words like 'தவம்', 'தூது', 'அமைச்சு', 'மானம்'. 3. The term 'ஒருவந்தம்' which gives the meaning 'பெருஞ்செல்வம்' was in vogue at the time of Valluvar and became obsolete after him. Ignoring the vehemence with which the learned editor criticises Sri Vaiyapuri Pillai's contention, we may point out that even *Tolkāppiyar*, the pioneer grammarian, has used hybrid words like 'மங்கல மொழி' and 'அந்தமில் சிறப்பு'. (Tol. Porul. Sūtras 243 and 244). "ஒருவந்தம்" is a hybrid one like 'மங்கல மொழி'. Here Valluvar uses "ஒருவந்தம்" in the sense "ஒருதலையாக". (Tirukkural, stanzas 563 and 593). Pāripperumāl and Parimelalakar are in complete agreement in the meaning 'ஒருதலையாக'. The word 'ஒருவந்தம்' which gives the meaning 'பெருஞ்செல்வம்' according to Kāliṅgar and Sri Palaniappa Pillai does not find a place in any of the Tamil classics. Lexicons also

do not give any meaning except 'ஒரு முடிவு'. The editor asserts dogmatically, but fails to quote an usage to his support, and justifies his contention by giving an explanation that the word became obsolete!

At page 79, Kāliṅgar prefers the reading 'ஒக்கி' and dismisses 'ஒச்சி' another reading. In vain, the editor's praise here for Kāliṅgar's reading shows only his undue partiality to him. The commentaries of Kāliṅgar on two stanzas (Ch. 20, stanza 6 and Ch. 21, stanza 6) are too long and contain extraneous matter.

Pāripperumāl, like his successor Parimelalakar, is at his best in commenting on stanza 9 of chapter 35, where Kāliṅgar tumbles down. One cannot help the feeling that the two commentaries under review are bound to enhance the reputation of Parimelalakar's commentary.

Considering the paucity of materials on the time and personality of Tiruvalluvar, it may not be improper to point out that the time and labour frittered away in efforts to fix the age or parentage of the great Valluvar could be utilised with profit to popularise the lofty teachings of the immortal *Kural* whose high ideals of life, when followed, would make for us a better world to live in.

E. K. NATESA SARMA

MM. PROF. D. V. POTDAR COMMEMORATION VOLUME, Ed. Dr. Surendranath Sen, Poona, 1950. Copies can be had of Prof. R. V. Oturkar, Bharat Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, Poona-2. Rs. 16.

This substantial volume of Essays and Studies is a tribute which the pupils and admirers of Prof. Potdar have paid to that well-known scholar of Maharashtra on his rounding off a sixty-year cycle of learning and public activity. The variety of the subjects dealt with is obvious from the short notices that follow of the various papers.

B. Kataki suggests that the word 'Varāha' (boar) comes from some early formation like *varābha* (cloud, udder). P.K. Gode's paper on the history of maize in India and S. Mahdihasan's on the Chinese origin of the word 'rice' are illuminative of the ways in which distant countries may get into touch with each other. N. G. Chapekar shows doubts on Viśvāmitra having been a Kṣatriya and asks whether the Kauśikas were the first tribe to set foot in India or the ṛṣis s(

named were the most ancient among ṛṣis, and believes that the Viśvāmitras had Indra for their favourite among the Gods. B. R. Kulkarni holds that Indra and Pūṣan are prayed to lend their hand in making Sītā, an annual goddess, fruitful, that Pūṣan's place here is due to his star-group Revatī, rising at the commencement of the sowing season, and that this points to an antiquity of 24,000 years. C. G. Kashikar essays at corrections of the readings in the seventh Praśna of Bhāradvāja Śrauta Sūtra. P. C. Divanji argues that the Bhagavad Gīṭā reached its present form by at least the time of Patañjali, that the Brahman of the Gītā is the Prajāpati, Cosmic God, whose position is that of the Śabda-brahman of Vedānta. G. V. Devasthali finds the one principle of the teaching of the Bhagavad Gītā in Karma, viz. that Karma results in bondage or is unable to bind according as it is or is not performed with rāga and dveṣa or saṅga. A. S. Altekar speculates on the history of Vaisali from 480 B. C. to about 320 A. D. and suggests what archeological excavation at the site should direct itself to. G. Venkata Rao approaches the 'authorship' of the śilāstambhas of Asokan inscriptions from a new point of view. B. K. Barua sketches briefly the course of Buddhism in Assam. V. R. Talwalkar traces Buddhist motifs in what he calls Byzantine architecture from 262 B. C. to 328 A. D. H. D. Sankalia adds a few archaeological traces of Buddhism in Gujarat to what he had noticed earlier. A. N. Upadhye compresses much into a short paper on Jainas and Jainism. Y. R. Gupte points to the value of the inscriptional, architectural and sculptural remains of the caves at Nasik, and leans to the opinion that the sculptures in Cave XVII represent, not Roman types, but Bactrian or Ionian Greeks, Satraps or their kinsmen. S. K. Dikshit deals at length with the obvious in the methods of archaeological excavation. T. K. Joseph shows the unedifying depths to which the controversy over the remains of St. Thomas has sunk. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri draws attention to new epigraphical finds bearing on later Pallava dates and suggests the need to allow for some overlapping reigns. G. S. Dikshit traces the course of Western Cḷalukya relations with Central India. R. C. Majumdar relates how mixed were the reactions of Hindus to the incursions of Muslim invaders and draws a moral for the future. S. R. Sarma peers into the enigma which Nasar-ud-Din Khusru was in mediaeval history and points to his reconversion to

Hinduism in his reign as an indication of a revolutionary change in Hindu society. H. K. Sherwani uses the coinage of the Bahmanis to correct and supplement the chronicles for the period from 1347 to 1537 A. D. M. Rama Rao points to the Bāhubalendras having been the last Hindu chiefs to oppose the establishment of Muslim rule in Kalinga. H. Goetz draws attention to an early illustrated Rajput manuscript of the 16th century and argues that it points to Rajput art having absorbed the Jaina-Gujarat gradually. M. G. Dikshit edits two inscriptions at Mahesvar (Mahishmati), one of them of 1566 A.D. in incorrect Sanskrit with an admixture of some Persian terms, and the other a badly engraved one, recording how the foundation of a temple was laid in 1799 A. D. and it was completed about 1824. P.M. Joshi summarises the story of Asad Beg's mission, at Akbar's instance, to Ibrahim Adil Shah II of Bijapur, in 1603-4 A. D., and says that Akbar's issue of Rama-Sita gold mohar, on the occasion, perhaps, of the marriage of Prince Dāniyāl with Sultana Begum, may mark the completion of the mission. A. D. Verma deals with the four 'stages' of Sufi doctrine as referred to in the Hindi works of Malik Muhammad Jayasi. V. T. Gune shows how the indigenous tenures of Maharashtra served as the basis of civil and justice administration, becoming the common law of the people under the sultans of the Dekkhan, and led to the unification of the Maharashtra masses by the end of the 17th century. V. D. Rao gives an account of a second coronation of Sivaji, but according to Tantric rites. C. S. Srinivasachari deals with a Tamil account, drawn up in the early years of the 19th century, of Sivaji's expedition to the South and of the Mughal siege of Gingee. M.S. Agaskar traces the history of the docksof Bombay and of ship-building there from 1670 to 1800. B. N. Reu deals with a farman of Mohammad Shah of 1740 A. D. and to a Sanad of the latter half of the 18th century, in which the Muslim rulers, including Aurangzeb, direct that due respect should be paid by Hindus and Muhammadans to certain Jaina saints. S. H. Askari deals with untapped material in Persian works relating to the activities of the Mahrathas in the 18th century and gives extracts from incidental references. Ganda Singh summarises the early relations between the Marathas and the Sikhs to whom it was given in common to be torch-bearers of freedom. A. D. Pusalkar invites attention to some Sanskrit

works referring especially to the Bhosalas of Maharashtra and the Maratha rulers of Tanjore. K. R. Venkataraman draws attention to a Maratha leaven working in Pudukkottai influencing its administrative and cultural history. T. S. Shejwalkar throws light on the character of Naro Vishnu Apte, an adventurer who having been a trusted captain of the last Peshwa, had a hand in the turmoils of middle India down to his death in 1843, and evokes a warning from his career. V. G. Dighe, as an object lesson to the future, lays the finger on the cancerous spots the fester in which brought about the Maratha downfall. K. H. Kamdar shows how the history of Baroda must be understood as one shaped largely by its having had to be an outpost of Hinduism. K. Datta reviews Indo-French culture-contact in the first half of the 19th century.

T. G. Aravamuthan

B. M. Barua Commemoration Volume: *Indian Culture*, Vol. XV (1948-49). Indian Culture Institute, Calcutta.

It is but proper that the first volume of the *Indian Culture* published after the demise in March, 1948, of Dr. Beni Madhab Barua, the eminent Bengali scholar, "who dominated the stage of Buddhistic studies in Bengal for more than quarter of a century" and one of the founder-members of this Journal, is issued to commemorate his high scholarship and life-long service in the cause learning. The contributions made by Dr. Barua to Pali and Buddhist studies are vast and varied; a bibliography of his writings, 17 books and 59 articles, mainly on the above subjects, given by H. C. Raychaudhuri at the close of a biographical note about Dr. Barua, bears ample testimony to the fruits of his labour in these fields of study.

About a third of the papers contained in this volume relate to Pali and Buddhism. 'Escape (Nissaraṇa)' by I. B. Horner treats in an exhaustive manner the 'states or conditions that are to be escaped from' (nissaraṇīya) according to the Pali canon. W. Stede expounds clearly the Antaka-Anantaka theory of Buddhism and shows how it advocates the value and beauty of life for its own sake. G. N. Roerich translates the Tibetan work Paralokasiddhi, (which itself is a translation from the original Sanskrit), which expounds the Buddhist view of life after death. In a well-documented paper D. L. Barua gives bibliographical information about forty works on Pali grammar, rhetoric and prosody, produced in India, Ceylon and

Burma. H. C. Raychaudhuri, in a short paper, offers a revised explanation of the emblem of the Republic of India; on the basis of Chakkavatti-Sīhanāda-Sutta taken along with the well-known Dhammachakkap-pavattana-Sutta, it is suggested that the wheel, the animals and the lion harmonise the *regal* and spiritual suzernity over the land.

Vedic literature is represented by the article 'Vedic Ṛtu' by Louis Renou; it is a study on the semantics of the word 'ṛtu', which originally meant 'time, suitable time for sacrifice', and even 'rule' and 'usage'. Nalini Nath Das Gupta in his 'Early Bengal's contribution to Brahminical philosophy', surveys the productions in the various śāstras till about the 12th century A. D., when Bengal was dominated by Buddhism; it may be specially noted that the Prābhākara system of Mīmāṁsa had established itself well in Bengal.

History is well represented. C. S. Srinivasachari sketches the career and fall of Robert Orme of East India Company fame, at Madras. K. A. Nilakanta Sastri critically examines the Viṣṇukuṇḍin plates. V. R. R. Dikshitar recounts the connection between South India and Ceylon from very early days. Adris Banerji reconstructs a connected history of the rise and fall of Yasovarman of Kanauj (*c.* 720-750 A.D.) from the slender historical material available. The paper on 'Collapse of the early Chalukya rule in the Western Deccan' by G. C. Raychaudhury recounts the causes that contributed to the loss of power of the Chalukyas in the middle of the 8th century.

The paper on 'Status of territorial, social and economical groups in early Smṛtis' by U. N. Ghoshal is an informative study on ancient Indian sociology, and shows how local customs and practices were given due place in civic administration, and gives evidence to the existence of 'gaṇas' (groups) who owned common property and had their own stringent codes of law. The late D. R. Bhandarkar, in a short paper, points out to the existence of the Sātvata (vaiṣṇava) sect, akin to the Vallabha, in the Punjab, from an inscription of the 4th-5th century A.D. In his paper on the 'Custom of holding grass as a token of surrender', P. K. Gode has collected information on the subject from various sources, the earliest reference being to the Dūtavākya of Bhāsa.

There are four papers on the fauna and flora of India, one on the former and three on the latter, all of which are interest-

ing and informative studies. V. S. Agrawala's 'Fauna in the Aṣṭādhyāyī' presents from scattered words and usages illustrated by Pāṇini, an interesting study on the classification of animals, names of animals, feeding and stock, life-history of the cow, the bull, breeds, branding of cows and branding marks. 'Ancient Indian Flora' by B. C. Law gives an alphabetical list of flora mentioned in Indian literature with short descriptions of each and is bound to be of much referential value to researchers in the botany of Indian plants. G. P. Majumdar's paper on 'Plants in erotics' elaborates on the profuse references made to medicinal herbs and herbal preparations in treatises on Kāmaśāstra. C. A. Rylands' note on 'Karṇikāra in Kālidāsa's works' tries to identify the plant botanically from its description.

The only paper on linguistics, the 'Problems of Indian linguistics' is from the pen of Batakrishna Ghosh, another founder-editor of this journal whose scholarly career was unfortunately cut short by premature death, and forms the Presidential Address delivered by him at the Linguistics section of the XIVth All-India Oriental Conference, Darbhanga, in 1948.

K. V. Sarma

Index of Papers submitted to the All-India Oriental Conference (Sessions I to XII): 1919—1944. Compiled by K. Venkateswara Sarma. Poona, 1949. $6\frac{3}{4}$" x 10". Pp. xli+501. Price Rs. 6 (for Members) and Rs. 12 (for others). Copies can be had of the General Secretary, All-India Oriental Conference, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona-4.

All Indologists should be thankful to Sri Sarma for this Index, which enhances the value of the scholarly contents of the twelve volumes of the Proceedings of the All-India Oriental Conference replete with papers on all aspects of Indology. The present volume contains a Foreword by Dr. S. K. De, the General President of the XVth session of the Conference at which the Index was published, a Resume of the Conference, a brief historical sketch (1919-1949), an Author Index, a Title Index, and two Appendices containing Tables of Inviting bodies, Presidents, Secretaries, Sectional Presidents, etc. This volume has thus become indispensable to every research worker in Indology who wants to know at a glance the papers contributed to the leading All-India institution of Indological research by different scholars on different branches of Indology.

To prepare a complete alphabetical bibliography of about 3,000 papers with precision and care speaks volumes of the patience, industry and acumen of Sri Sarma, and it may be specially noted that in cases where a paper has not been included in the Conference Proceedings, but has been published elsewhere, such publication has also been traced and appropriate reference given. Since the publication of this Index, a creditable performance for a young author, Sri Sarma has been taken up by the University of Madras as an Assistant for the *New Catalogus Catalogorum* work of my esteemed friend Dr. V. Raghavan, Head of the Department of Sanskrit of that University. The Madras University is to be congratulated on the appointment of two assistants for expediting the preparation and publication of this Catalogue of international academic importance.

While congratulating Sri Sarma and the authorities of the All-India Oriental Conference upon the production of this nice Index, we may suggest that all volumes of papers to be published by the Conference hereafter should be provided with a General Index as a rule so that the varied material in these volumes could be used by research scholars without any waste of time and labour.

P. K. GODE

THE ROAD TO SALVATION by P. N. S IYER, Former Private Secretary to Sir Chinubhai Madhowlal Baronet, with an Introduction by Pandit K. A. Lakshmana Sastri. Kalpathi, Palghat, 1950, pp. 32.

Over a hundred pithy sayings, epigrams and sound pieces of advice pertinent to modern life, culled from different sources such as religious literature and proverbs, and supplemented and annotated by the varied experiences in life of the author, form the contents of this neatly printed and well brought-out booklet.

K. V. SARMA

SOUTH INDIAN INFLUENCES IN THE FAR EAST by K. A. Nilakanta Sastri. Publishers: Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay, 1949. Pp. 159, with a map. Rs. 4/8.

Professor Nilakanta Sastri needs no introduction. He is well-known for his scholarly researches in the History of India, particularly of South India, and also for his excellent latest work, History of India, of which parts one and two have already been published. The book under review is an admir-

able survey of the South Indian influences in the Far Eastern countries, like Burma, Siam, Malaya, Indonesia, Borneo and Indo-China. Prof. Sastri, illustrating profusely from inscriptions, gives us an idea of how deep the influence of Hindu cult had taken roots during those days of Hindu colonisation. The similarities in early architecture, in the organisation of rural economy and village administration, in social life, in the use of the Śaka era, the abundance of Sanskrit words in their languages—all show us unmistakable influences of Indian origin. Excavations have shown various Indian articles of domestic use all along the far-eastern countries, furnishing us the necessary links indicating the route taken by Hindu culture in its migration to the Far East. Prof. Sastri cites from Chinese and indigenous chronicles in support of his theories. The survival of many traces of Hindu ceremonial even to the present day are also evidences which cannot be disputed. The spread of Buddhism must also be attributed to this flow of Indian culture, ideas, rituals and linguistic affinities, which continued without a stop from India to the Far East. The fact that Hindu influences still persist in the Far East—parts of which have been converted to Islam, shows how firmly Indian culture has taken root there. It is not out of place to give an instance of the many which Prof. Sastri cites in his book. The Muslim priests of Champa (Annam) are called even to-day, 'ācār' (Sanskrit—'ācārya') and among them the head—priest is called 'gru' (Sanskrit—'guru').

This book, as is stated in the introduction, is not a systematic account or a history of Hindu Civilisation in the Far East. It is only a survey of a particular aspect of the movement, with special reference to the role played by South India in the early history of the countries of the Far East. It is very interestingly written and will certainly interest the reader to make him pursue this fascinating subject further.

M. Somasekhara Sarma.

iv. *Kaṟpiyal* (The chapter on the life of the householder after he has taken his wife with due ceremonies.)

What is the definition of *Kaṟpu*?

140. கற்பெனப் படுவது கரணமொடு புணரக்
கொளற்குரி மரபிற் கிழவன் கிழத்தியைக்
கொடைக்குரி மரபினோர் கொடுப்பக் கொள்வதுவே[1].

Kaṟp-eṉa-p paṭuvatu karaṇamoṭu puṇara-k
Koḷaṟk-uri marapiṟ kiḻavaṉ kiḻattiyai-k
Koṭaikk-uri marapiṉōr koṭuppa-k-koḷ vatu-v-ē

Kaṟpu is that wherein the deserving bridegroom is made to get the hand of the worthy bride by those who are qualified to give her away with the necessary ceremonies like *hōma* etc.

Note 1. *Karaṇam* stands for *agnāukaraṇam* which means *hōma* done in fire. Hence it means here all the ceremonies done during the marriage.

Note 2. From the fourth *sūtra* it is evident that *kaṟpu* system of marriage is later than *kaḷavu*. Hence a new word should have been coined in Tamil language to denote it. *Kaṟpu* is possibly the curtailed form of *kaṟpam* which is the *tadbhava* of the Sanskrit word *kalpa* which means *vidhi*.

Naccinārkkiniyar derives *kaṟpu* from the root *karpi-ttal* and tells us that it is called *kaṟpu*, since the bride is advised by her relatives how to behave towards the husband, and by her husband how to run the house, and since *agni* is requested how to look after her and she is advised how to render service to *agni*.

Note 3. *Kaṟpu* may happen after and before *kaḷavu* becomes known to all, after and before physical union takes place between lovers and even without *kaḷavu*.

Is there *karaṇam* when there is none to give the bride away in marriage?

1. *Pratipannām abhiprētāvakāśavartinīm nāyakaḥ śrōtriyāgārāt agnim ānāyya kuśān āstīrya yathāsmṛti hutvā triḥ parikramēt; tatō mātari pitari ca prakāśayēt... tad-bāndhavāśca yathā kulasya agham pariharantō daṇḍabhayāccа tasmā ēva ēnām dadyuḥ tathā yōjayēt* (*Kāmasūtra* 3, 4, 12-15)

141. கொடுப்போ ரின்றியுங் கரண முண்டே
புணர்ந்துடன் போகிய காலை யான.[1]

Koṭuppō r-iṉṟi-y-uṁ karaṇa m-uṇṭ-ē
Puṇarnt-uṭaṉ pōkiya kālai y-āṉ-a

There is *karaṇam* even when there are no relatives to give the bride away, when she goes away with the lover.

To whom was *karaṇam* first enjoined?

142. மேலோர் மூவர்க்கும் புணர்ந்த கரணம்
கீழோர்க் காகிய காலமு முண்டே.

Mēlōr mūvarkkum puṇarnta karaṇam
Kīḻōrk-ākiya kālam-u m-uṇṭ-ē

There was a time when the *karaṇam* enjoined to the first three castes began to be adopted for the fourth.

When was it?

143. பொய்யும் வழுவும் யாத்த பின்னர்
ஐயர் யாத்தனர் கரண மென்ப.
Poy-y-um vaḻu-v-um yātta piṉṉar
Aiyar yāttaṉar karaṇa m-eṉpa.

They say that *karaṇam* was introduced by *āryas* after the lovers began to prove false and the ladies were considered unworthy.

Note 1. *Aiyar* is the *tadbhava* of *ārya*. Though *ārya* generally refers to brahman, kṣatriya and vaiśya, yet it may refer here only to brahman, since brahman alone is said to have gone south from Northern India.

Note 2. *Eṉpa* suggests that the introduction of *karaṇam* among Tamils was before the time of Tolkāppiyaṉār. This *sūtra* and the previous one suggest that the Āryas and Tamils lived together for a long time before him, that the Tamils began to adopt the Vedic religion long before him, that *kaḷavu* system was satisfactory for a long time and when it was found unsatisfactory, *kaṟpu* system was introduced in Tamilnad in consonance with what is found in the *Dharmaśāstra*.

What are the occasions for the husband to have his say?

144. கரணத்தி னமைந்து முடிந்த காலை
நெஞ்சதோ யவிழ்ந்த புணர்ச்சிக் கண்ணும்

1- Ātmanō bandhur-ātmāiva gatir-ātmāiva cātmanaḥ | Ātmanāivātmanō dānam kartum arhasi dharmataḥ (Mahābhārata, Ādi. 94, 13)

எஞ்சா மகிழ்ச்சி யிறந்துவரு பருவத்தும்
அஞ்ச வந்த வரிமைக் கண்ணும்
நன்னெறிப் படருந் தொன்னலப் பொருளினும்
பெற்ற தேவத்துப் பெருமையி னிலேஇக்[1]
குற்றஞ் சான்ற பொருளெடுத் துரைப்பினும்
காமக் காலத் துண்டெனத் தோழி
ஏமுறு கடவு ளேத்திய மருங்கினும்
அல்ல நீர வார்வமொ டளேஇச்[2]
சொல்லுறு பொருளின் கண்ணுஞ் சொல்லென
வனது சுவைப்பினு நீகை தொட்டது
வர்ஞெ ரமிழ்தம்[3] புரையுமா லெமக்கென
அடிசிலும் பூவுந் [4]தொடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
அந்தணர் திறத்துஞ் சான்ரோர் தேவத்தும்
அந்தமில் சிறப்பிற் பிறர்பிறர் திறத்தினும்
ஒழுக்கங் காட்டிய குறிப்பினு மொழுக்கத்துக்
களவினு ணிகழ்ந்த வருமையைப் புலம்பி
அலமர லுள்ளமொ டளவிய விடத்தும்
அந்தரத் தெழுதிய வெழுத்தின் மான
வந்த குற்றம் வழிகெட வொழுகலும்
அழிய லஞ்சலென் ரூயிரு பொருளினும்
தானவட் பிழைத்த பருவத் தானும்
கோன்மையும் பெருமையு மெய்கொள வருளிப்[5]
பன்னல் சான்ற வாயிலொடு பொருந்திக்
தன்னி லுகிய தகுதிக் கண்ணும்
புதல்வற் பயந்த புனிறுதீர்[6] பொழுதின்
நெய்யணி மயக்கம் புரிந்தோ ணேக்கி
ஐயர் பாங்கினு மமரர்ச் சுட்டியும்
செய்பெருஞ் சிறப்பொடு சேர்தற் கண்ணும்
பயங்கெழு தூணையணேப் புல்லிப் புல்லாது
உயங்குவள் கிடந்த கிழத்தியைக் குறுகி
அல்கன்[7] மூன்னிய நிறையழி பொழுதின்
மெல்லென் சீறடி புல்லிய விரவினும்
உறலருங் [8]குரைமையி னூடன் மிகுத்தோளப்
பிறபிற பெண்டிரிற் பெயர்த்தற் கண்ணும்

1. நிலேஇ (இளம்.); நிலேஇய (நச்.)
2. அளேஇ (இளம்.); அளேஇய (நச்.)
3. அமிழ்தம் (இளம்.); அமுதம் (நச்.)
4. தொடுத்தற்கண் (இளம்.); தொடுதற்கண் (நச்.)
5. அருளி (இளம்.); அருளிய (நச்.)
6. தீர் (இளம்.); சேர் (நச்.)
7. அல்கல் (இளம்.); புல்லென (நச்.)
8. உரைமை (இளம்.); உண்மை (நச்.)

பிரிவி னெச்சத்துப் புலம்பிய விருவரைப்
பரிவு[1] நீக்கிய பகுதிக் கண்ணும்
கின்றுழி பிரிவி னஞ்சிய பையுளும்
சென்றுகை யிகந்துபெயர்த் துள்ளிய வழியும
காமத்தின் வலியுங் கைவிடி னச்சமும்
தானவட் பிழைத்த நிலையின் கண்ணும்
உடன்சேறற் செய்கையொ டன்னவை பிறவும
மடம்பட வந்த தோழிக் கண்ணும்[2]
வேற்றுநாட் டகல்வயின் விழுமத் தானும்
மீட்டுவர வாய்ந்த வகையின் கண்ணும்
அவ்வழிப் பெருகிய சிறப்பின் கண்ணும்
பேரிசை யூர்திப் பாகர் பாங்கினும்
காமக் கிழத்தி மனையோ ளென்றிவர்
ஏழுறு கிளவி சொல்லிய வெதிரும்
சென்ற தேவத் தழப்புழனி விளக்கி
இன்றிச் சென்ற தன்னிலை[3] கிளப்பினும்
அருந்தொழின் முடித்த செம்மற் காலை
விருந்தொடு நல்லவை வேண்டற் கண்ணும
மாலை யேத்திய பெண்டிரு மக்களும்
கேளி சொழுக்கத்துப் புகற்சிக் கண்ணும்
ஏனை [4]வாயிலோ ரெதிரொடு தொகைஇப்
பண்ணமை பகுதிமுப் பதிஞெரு மூன்றும்[5]
எண்ணருஞ் சிறப்பிற் கிழவோன் மேன.

Karaṇatti ṉ-amainta muṭinta kālai
Neñcu-talai y-avilṇta puṇarcci-k kaṇṇum
Eñcā makiḻcci y-iṛantu-varu paruvattum
Añca vanta v-urimai-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Naṉṉeṛi-p paṭarun toṉṉala-p poruliṉum
Peṛṛa tēettu-p perumaiyi ṉilaii-k
Kuṛṛañ cāṉṛa poruḷ-eṭut t-uraippiṇum
Nāma-k kālat t-uṇṭ-eṇa-t tōḻi
Ēm-uṛu kaṭavu ḷ-ēttiya maruṅkiṇum
Alla ṟīra v-ārvamo ṭ-aḷaii-c
Col-l-uṛu poruliṉ kaṇṇuñ col-l-eṇa
Ēṇatu cuvaippiṇu nī-kai toṭṭatu
Vāṇō ṟ-amiḻtam puraiyum-ā l-emakk-eṇa

1. பரிவு (இளம்.); பிரிவின் (நச்.)
2. தோழிகண்ணும் (இளம்.); தோழிக்கண்ணும் (நச்.)
3. தன்னிலை (இளம்.); தன்நிலை (நச்.).
4. வாயிலோர் (இளம்.); வாயில் (நச்.)
5. பதிஞெருமூன்றும் (இளம்.); முப்பதிஞெருமூன்றும் (நச்.)

Aṭicil-um pū-v-un toṭuttaṛ kaṇṇum
Antaṇar tiṛattuñ cāṉṛōr tēettum
Antam-il ciṛappiṛ piṛar-piṛar tiṛattiṇum
Oḻukkaṅ kāṭṭiya kuṛippiṇu m-oḻukkattu-ṅ
Kaḷaviṇu ṇiṅaḷnta v-arumaiyai-p pulampi
Alamara l-uḷḷamo ṭ-aḷaviya v-iṭattum
Antarat t-eḻutiya v-eḻuttiṉ māṉa
Vanta kuṛṛam vaḷi-keṭa v-oḻukal-um
Aḻiya l-añcal-eṉ ṛ-ā-y-iru poruḷiṉ-um
Tāṉ-avaṭ piḻaitta paruvat tāṉ-um
Nōṉmai-y-um perumai-y-um mey-koḷa v-aruḷi-p
Paṉṉal cāṉṛa vāyiloṭu poruṇti-t
Taṉṉi ṉ-ākiya takuti-k kaṇṇum
Putalvaṛ payanta puṉiṛu-tīr poḻutiṉ
Ney-y-aṇi mayakkam purintō ṇōkki
Aiyar pāṅkiṉ-u m-amarar-c cuṭṭi-y-um
Cey-peruñ ciṛappoṭu cērtaṛ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Payaṅ-keḻu tuṇai-y-aṇai-p pulli-p pullātu
Uyaṅkuvaḷ kiṭanta kiḻattiyai-k-kuṛuki
Alkaṉ muṉṉiya niṛai-y-aḷi poḻutiṉ
Mel-l-eṉ cīṛ-aṭi pulliya viraviṇum
Uṛal-aruṅ kuraimaiyi ṉ-ūṭaṉ mikuttōḷai-p
Piṛa-piṛa peṇṭiriṛ peyarttaṛ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pirivi ṉ-eccattu-p pulampiya v-iruvarai-p
Parivu nīkkiya pakuti-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
Niṉṛu-naṇi pirivi ṉ-añciya paiyuḷ-um
Ceṉṛu-kai y-ikantu-peyart t-uḷḷiya valiyum
Kāmattiṉ vali-y-uṅ kai-viṭi ṉ-accam-um
Tāṉ-avaṭ piḻaitta nilaiyiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Uṭaṉ-cēṛaṛ ceykaiyo ṭ-aṉṉavai piṛa-v-um
Maṭam-paṭa vanta tōḷi-k kaṇ-ṇum
Vēṛṛu-nāṭ ṭ-akalvayiṉ viḻumat tāṉ-um
Mīṭṭu-vana vāynta vakaiyiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Av-vaḷi-p perukiya ciṛappiṉ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Pēr-icai y-ūrti-p pākar pāṅkiṇum
Kāma-k kiḻatti maṇaiyō ḷ-eṉṛ-ivar
Ēm-uru kiḻavi colliya vetir-um
Ceṉṛa tē-et t-uḻappu-naṇi viḻakki
Iṉṛi-c ceṉṛa taṉṉilai kiḻappiṇum
Arun-toḻiṉ muṭitta cemmaṛ kālai
Viruntoṭu nallavai vēṇṭaṛ kaṇ-ṇ-um
Mālai y-ēntiya peṇṭir-u makkaḷ-um

Kēḷi r-oḻukkattu-ṗ pukaṟci-k kaṇ-ṇ-um
ṉṉaiya vāyilō r-etiroṭu toṙaii-ṗ
Paṇ-ṇ-amai pakuti-muṗ patiṉ-oru mūṉṟum
Eṇ-ṇ-aruñ ciṟappiṟ kiḻavōṉ mēṉ-a.

There are thirtythree important occasions when the husband has opportunities to have his say: (1) when he meets in conjugal union his wife with a free mind after the marriage ceremonies are over, (2) whenever he is in ecstasy over the married life while she creates awe in his mind through her keen sense of duty, (3) when she treads the traditional paths of virtue, (4) when he reconciles her objectionable deeds during *ṙaḷavu* with reference to her greatness shown in married life, (5) when the lady's friend pays homage to the Gracious God who helped them when they were in danger, (6) when the lady lets her mind out with enthusiasm since her period of trial is over, (7) when he takes the food and makes the garland saying that, whatever she touches is as sweet to him as nectar and asking her the reason for the same (8) when he suggests his appreciation of her exemplary conduct towards brahmans, the great and other saints,[1] (9) when both of them recount towards each other the anxiety and turmoils to which they were put during *ṙaḷavu* (10) when they are leading their life in such a way that the faults committed by them during *kaḷavu* may disappear like letters written on air, (11) when he has to give her words of encouragement not to dishearten herself, nor to fear for her wrongs in *kaḷavu*, (12) when he does not keep his promise to her, (13) when he tells her that he was responsible for everything and hence she has to put up with what is past and think of her greatness after discussing the same with her friend,[2] (14) when he celebrates the birth of his son on looking at his wife after the child is given the ceremonial oilbath with presents to brahmans and prayers to Gods, (15) when he falls at her tender feet praying for mercy while she lies down embracing the soft pillow without allowing herself to be embraced by him on his approaching her after the degeneration of his character through his contact with another

1. Naccinārkkiniyar interprets *antam-il-ciṟappiṟ-piṟar* to be *dēvas*; *antam-il-* does not suit in that interpretation.

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning is entirely different. It is this: When he performs *sīmanta* while she is pregnant with a child inheriting the nobility and greatness of the father.

woman[1] (16) when he ends the love-quarrel through the intercession of many ladies while she persisted in not allowing him to approach her, (17) when he ends the grief of his wife and faithful concubine caused by his separation from them[2] (18) when he is in distress standing away from the wife, (19) when he approaches her, feels disappointed and thinks of repeating his request,[3] (20) when they are overpowered with *kāma*, (21) when he fears the effect of his separation from her if it happens (22) when he fails to keep his promise to her, (23) when she tells him that she will follow him, (24) when the lady's friend addresses him through her credulity, (25) when he feels disheartened on starting to a foreign land, (26) when he thinks of returning home on the way, (27) when he meets with victory, honour etc., in that foreign country, (28) when he describes the same to the charioteer having very fine chariot, (29) when he is addressed by his wife and the faithful concubine at home with reference to the difficulties undergone by them, (30) when he describes his situation in the foreign land mixed with grief on their separation, (31) when he enjoys the company of the guests in the feast in commemoration of his victorious feat, (32) when he is given warm reception in the evening by women, children and friends, and (33) when he is addressed with warm words by others.

What are the occasions for the wife to have her say?

145. அவனறி வாற்ற வறியு மாகலின்
எற்றற் கண்ணு நிறுத்தற் கண்ணும்
உரிமை கொடுத்த கிழவோன் பாங்கின்
பெருமையிற் றிரியா வன்பின் கண்ணும்
கிழவனை மகடூஉப் புலம்புபெரி தாகலின்

1. The word *tuṇai-y-aṇai* is taken to mean by the commentators the pillow which serves as support; but it may be taken to mean the son who is the *sandhi* and who is got from her husband; cf. *mātā pūrva-rūpam, pitā uttara-rūpam, prajā sandhiḥ* (Tāittirīyōpaniṣad)

2. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meaning seems to be this: when one tries to end the grief of the husband and the wife while the former was in the company of another woman.

3. *Naccinārkkiniyar's* meanng is this:—when she finally thinks of agreeing to him after resisting him on account of her seeing marks of his union with another when he approaches her.

அலமரல் பெருகிய காமத்து மிகுதியும்
இன்பமு மிடும்பையு மாகிய விடத்தும்
கயந்தலை தோன்றிய காமர் செய்யணி
நயந்த கிழவனை நெஞ்சு புண்ணுறீ இ
களியி னீக்கிய விளிவரு நிலையும்
புகன்ற வுள்ளமொடு புதுவோர் சாயற்கு
அகன்ற கிழவனைப் புலம்புகனி காட்டி
இயன்ற நெஞ்சத் [1]தலைப்பெயர்த் தருக்கி
னெதிர்பெய்து மறுத்த வீரத்து மருங்கினும்
தங்கிய வொழுக்கத்துக் கிழவனை வணங்கி
எங்கையர்க் குரையென வீரத்தற் கண்ணும்
செல்லாக் காலைச் செல்கென விடுத்தலும்
காமக் கிழத்தி தன்மகத் தழீஇ
ஏமுறு விளையாட் டிறுதிக் கண்ணும்
சிறந்த செய்கை யவ்வழித் தோன்றி
அறம்புரி நெஞ்சமொடு[2] தன்வர வறியாமைப்
புறஞ்செய்து பெயர்த்தல் வேண்டித் தானும்
தந்தைய ரொப்பர் மக்களென் பதனால்
அந்தமில் சிறப்பின் மகப்பழித்து நெருங்கினும்[3]
கொடியோர் கொடுமை சுடுமென வொடியாது
நல்லிசை நயந்தோர் சொல்லொடு தொகைஇப்
பகுதி னீங்கிய தகுதிக் கண்ணும்
கொடுமை யொழுக்கங் கோடல் வேண்டி
அடிமேல் வீழ்ந்த கிழவனை நெருங்கிக்
காத லெங்கையர் காணி னன்றென
மாதர் சான்ற வகையின் கண்ணும்
தாயர் கண்ணிய நல்லணிப் புதல்வனை
மாயப் பாத்தை புள்ளிய வழியும்
தன்வயிற் சிறைப்பினு[4] மவன்வயிற் பிரிப்பினும்
இன்னுத் தொல்சூ ளெடுத்தற் கண்ணும்
காமக் கிழத்தி[5] நலம்பா ராட்டிய
தீமையின் முடிக்கும் பொருளின் கண்ணும்
கொடுமை யொழுக்கத்துத்[6] தோழிக் குரியவை
வடுவறு சிறப்பிற் கற்பிற் றிரியாமைக்
காய்தலு முவத்தலும் பிரித்தலும் பெட்டலும்
ஆவயின் வருஉம் பல்வேறு நிலையினும்

1. தலைப்பெயர் (இளம்.); தலைப்பெய (நச்.)
2. நெஞ்சமொடு (இளம்.); உள்ளமொடு (நச்.)
3. நெருங்கினும் (இளம்.); நெருக்கலும் (நச்.)
4. சிறப்பினும் (இளம்.); சிறைப்பினும் (நச்.)
5. கிழத்தி (இளம்.); கிழத்தியர் (நச்.)
6. ஒழுக்கத்து (இளம்.); ஒழுக்கம் (நச்.)

वर्षं मानुषमाहु-
र्दिव्यमहोरात्रमयनयुग्मयुतम् ।
दिव्यानां वर्षाणां
चतुर्युगं द्वादशसहस्रम् ॥ ६७ ॥

तेष्वेकसप्ततिं प्र-
त्येकैको मनु(रिहा)तीतः ।
संप्रति वैवस्वत इ-
त्यूर्ध्वा अपि सप्त ते मनवः ॥ ६८ ॥

तच्च षड्नं पूरित-
मवशिष्टारोपणेन तु सहस्रम् ।
ब्राह्ममहः सैव निशा
..... ॥ ६९ ॥

जलहिमतापवहानाम्
अर्काशूनां तदा सुषुम्नाद्याः ।
सप्त विवस्वन्तस्ते
भूत्वाशु दहन्ति भुवनानि ॥ ७० ॥

संवर्तकजलदस्त-
न्निर्वाप्यो..... ।
..... घे
शाम्यत्यवकाशविरहेण ॥ ७१ ॥

एकार्णवे स्वकुक्षौ
कृत्वा शेते जगत् सहस्रशिराः ।
प्रतिबुध्य स्वनिशान्ते
स सृज(ति)..... ॥ ७२ ॥

सर्गादावात्मभुवो
मरीचिरासीत् स काश्यपमवाप ।
तत आसन्नादित्या-
विवस्वतस्तेषु मनुरभवत् ॥ ७३ ॥

मनोरपीक्ष्वाकुरमुष्य.....
.....मित्रादपि मानसारः ।
स एष नाम्ना खलु रत्नदेव्याः (व्यां?)
कन्यामयं रत्नमवाप देव्याम् ॥ ७४ ॥

गृह्णाण तामित्युदकञ्च पित्रा
स पातयामास कुमारपाणौ ।
निधाय वह्निं विधिवत् पुरोधा
विधिं विवाहोचितमाचचार ॥ ७५ ॥

वधूवरे गर्भगृहं प्रविष्टे
गते मुनीन्द्रे सहराजहंसे ।
आदाय विद्येश्वरसोमदत्तौ
पुष्पोद्भवोऽपि स्वगृहं प्रपेदे ॥ ७६ ॥

सविस्मये राजकुले सतापे
विज्ञाय मायेति नृपे कुमारः ।
विस्रम्भयन्नर्मकथान्तरैस्तै-
रेमे रमण्या रमणीयमूर्तिः ॥ ७७ ॥

अथोपहूतः श्वशुरेण राज्ञा
विलोकनाय प्रतिपारियात्रम् ।
आदाय तस्यानुमतेः स्वकान्तां
ससौव्रतेयः प्रययौ पुरोधाः ॥ ७८ ॥

नक्षत्रताराकुलमन्तरिक्षं
सन्दर्शयन्निन्दुमरीचिगौरः ।
शरन्निशि प्राणसमां कुमार-
स्तस्यै जगद्वृत्तमुदाजहार ॥ ७९ ॥

ततस्तयेत्थं विविधान् विशेषान्
निर्विश्य निद्रानुभवावसाने ।
अबोधि बद्धं निगलेन पश्य-
न्नात्मीयमङ्घ्रिद्वितयं कुमारः ॥ ८० ॥

निरीक्ष्य तत् संभ्रममुक्तनादं
नरेन्द्रकन्या नितरां रुरोद ।
(अन्तःपुरा)रक्षिबलं विलोक्य
स्यालाय राज्ञेऽभिदधे कुमारम् ॥ ८१ ॥

स चण्डवर्मा स्वयमेत्य कोपात्
तद्भ्रातृहन्तुः सुहृदं निहन्तुम् ।
प्रचक्रमे त.....
..... ॥ ८२ ॥

.....निधनोन्मुखाभ्यां
तां दर्पसाराय विनीय वार्ताम् ।
बद्धं कुमारं च सहैव नीत्वा
रुरोध दण्डेन स चण्डवर्मा ॥ ८३ ॥

संप्राप्य चम्पेश्वर.....
.....निःसहायम् ।
.....
सुतां च हृत्वा शिबिरं प्रपन्नः ॥ ८४ ॥

इयेष चैनां परिणीय हर्तुं
स दर्पसारानुमतेः कुमारम् ।
तदाश्रयैर्गन्धगजाग्र.....
.....मगधेन्द्रसूनोः ॥ ८५ ॥

.....
..... ।
मुक्त्वा तदङ्घ्री निगलं सुरस्त्री-
भूत्वा प्रणम्याभ्यभणत् कुमारम् ॥ ८६ ॥

अस्म्यप्सराः सोममरीचिजाता
सुमञ्जरी नाम दिवि(भ्रमन्ती)
कदाचिदासं जलजन्ममुग्धै-
र्निबद्धवक्त्रा पथि जालपादैः ॥ ८७ ॥

क्षोभान्ममोरश्च्युतहारयष्टि-
स्पृष्टेन रोषादघमर्षणान्ते ।
शप्तास्मि दृप्ते ! भव शृङ्खलेति
द्विजेन मन्दोदकवापिकायाम् ॥ ८८ ॥

प्रसाद्यमानेन मयेन्द्रियाणा-
मक्षीणशक्तित्वमकारि तेन ।
मासद्वयं त्वच्चरणोषितायां
मोक्षश्च पश्चादभवं तथैव ॥ ८९ ॥

तामाददे मानसवेगसूनु-
र्विद्याधरः प्राप स दर्पसारम् ।
तेनापकर्तुं नरवाहनाद्ये
दत्तेऽद्य विद्याधरकर्णधारे ॥ ९० ॥

स्वसुः प्रदानं द्युचराय तस्मै
प्रतिश्रुतं तेन स जातु कान्ताम् ।
त्वदङ्गसुप्तामवलोक्य कोपा-
न्मया तवाङ्घ्रिद्वितयं बबन्ध ॥ ९१ ॥

मुक्तोऽद्य शापः करवाणि किं ते
प्रसीद देवेति नतानताङ्गी ।
मद्भर्तयाश्वासय वासु ! कान्ताम्
इतीरिता तेन दिवं जगाम ॥ ९२ ॥

अह्नायाथ द्विपवरमुपारुह्य तं कोपवह्नि-
ग्रासीकुर्वन् रिपुबलमसौ रोषताम्रायताक्षः ।
अन्तर्गेहाद् विवहनविधौ चण्डवर्माणमन्तं
नीत्वायान्तं सुहृद(मपहारारव्यम)ग्रे ददर्श ॥ ९३ ॥

मुक्त्वा चम्पेश्वरमुपनतं तस्य साहाय्यहेतो-
स्तत्रोपेतं तदनु सकलं मित्रलोकं विलोक्य ।
.....भेजे दीप्रैरुभय.....
मन्दाकिन्याः पुलिनमुदितानन्दमुद्यन्निवेन्दुः ॥ ९४ ॥

॥ इत्यवन्तिसुन्दरीकथासारे सप्तमः परिच्छेदः ॥

॥ अथ अष्टमः परिच्छेदः ॥

अथासौ सिकतोद्देशे निषीदन् (समुपस्थितान् ।
आश्लिष्य सुहृदःसर्वान)नुरूपमुपाचरन् ॥ १ ॥

बुद्ध्वा सम्बन्धिनस्तेषां धनमित्रादिकानसौ ।
अभिनन्द्यात्मनो वृत्तं विस्तीर्यैतरयोरपि ॥ २ ॥

(शुश्रूषुश्चरितं तेषामन्वयुङ्क्त क्रमे)ण तान् ।
अपहारः प्रणम्याथ स्ववृत्तान्तमवर्णयत् ॥ ३ ॥

नगरन्ध्रगते देवे मृगयित्वा भवद्गतिम् ।
चरन्नाकर्ण्य चम्पायां मरीचिं नाम तापसम् ॥ ४ ॥

जिज्ञासुस्त्वद्गतिं तस्माद्दिव्यज्ञानजुषो मुनेः ।
गत्वा तदाश्रमं तस्मिन्नपश्यं विवशं मुनिम् ॥ ५ ॥

कुतो मरीचिरस्मान्नः प्रतिपत्स्ये सुहृद्गतिम् ।
महात्मा स किलेत्युक्तः स मां प्राह स्म निःश्वसन् ॥ ६ ॥

तादृशो मुनिरासीत् तं गणिका काममञ्जरी ।
ववन्दे जातु जातार्तिर्माता च पुनरापतत् ॥ ७ ॥

पृष्टा किमित्यवोचत्ते चरणौ शरणं गता ।
आमुत्रिकसुखायेत्थं जननी च व्यजिज्ञपत् ॥ ८ ॥

एषा मे दोषमाचष्टे स्वाधिकारावतारणम् ।
एष खल्वधिकारो नो दुहितुः साधु वर्धनम् ॥ ९ ॥

अङ्गक्रिया मिताहारैः पोषणं धातुवर्धनैः ।
उत्सवः सर्वदा पुसां शैशवे नातिदर्शनम् ॥ १० ॥

शिक्षा चानङ्गविद्यानां नृत्तवाद्यादिबोधनम् ।
वार्तावबोधनं शास्त्रेष्वाजीवज्ञानलम्भनम् ॥ ११ ॥

क्रीडा सजीवनिर्जीवद्यूतादिष्ववतारणम् ।
अभ्यासनं जनादाप्तादभ्यन्तरकलासु च ॥ १२ ॥

यात्रोत्सवादिषु स्फीतमण्डनायाः प्रकाशनम् ।
सङ्गीतादिषु तद्वित्तैर्नैपुण्ख्यापनं जनैः ॥ १३ ॥

पीठमर्दविटप्रायैः शीलमाधुर्यवर्णना ।
अनल्पेन च शुल्केन स्थापनं यौवने(स्थिते ॥ १४ ॥

विशिष्ट)गुणयुक्ताय स्वतन्त्राय समर्पणम् ।
गुणाढ्यायाल्पशुल्केऽपि दानं बह्वपदेशतः ॥ १५ ॥

अस्वतन्त्राय वा दत्त्वा गुरुभ्यः शुल्कसंग्रहः ।
(गान्धर्वेण धनालाभे स्वीकृत्य स्वा)मिनं धनैः ॥ १६ ॥

नीत्यागम्य धनादानं दुग्धप्रायेण विग्रहः ।
लुब्धस्य रागिणस्त्यागोत्थापनं प्रतिहस्तिना ॥ १७ ॥

असारस्यावमानैर्वाकृतर्जनै(रपवाहनम् ।
अर्थदैर्धनिभि)र्भूयः संयोजनमिति स्थितिः ॥ १८ ॥

गणिकायाश्च युक्ता नो गम्यं प्रत्यनुरागिता ।
सत्यामपि क्वचित् प्रीतौ मातृवाक्यानतिक्रमः ॥ १९ ॥

स्वधर्म(मनवेक्ष्येयं क्वचि)द् वैदेशिके द्विजे ।
रमते स्वव्ययेनैषा कुटुम्बं चावसादितम् ॥ २० ॥

निषिद्धा वनवासाय प्राप्तेयं चेत्तपस्यति ।
संस्थास्यते जनः सर्वोऽप्यत्रैवेति रुरोद सा ॥ २१ ॥

आश्वास्यैनां तपश्चर्यादुश्चरत्वनिदर्शनैः ।
निर्बद्धा मुनिनाप्येषा जाता निश्चलनिश्चया ॥ २२ ॥

कालेनानुचितक्लेशा व्यवसायाद् विरंस्यति ।
गम्यतामिति तेनोक्तस्तथेति स्वजनो ययौ ॥ २३ ॥

भक्त्या परिचरन्त्येनमर्चनाकुसुमोच्चयैः ।
त्रिवर्गबद्धया वाचा न चिरात् सान्वरञ्जयत् ॥ २४ ॥

एकान्ते सा तमित्यूचे प्रसङ्गादर्थकामयोः ।
धर्ममेवोत्तमं मन्ये यत्ताभ्यां नैष बाध्यते ॥ २५ ॥

तथा पितामहादीनां श्रूयतां खल्वतिक्रमाः ।
न धर्मपीडां कुर्वन्ति श्रेयान् धर्मस्ततो मतः ॥ २६ ॥

इत्याकर्ण्योल्बणप्रीतिरभ्यधादयि ! सुन्दरि ! ।
अर्थकामानभिज्ञोऽहं कीदृशाविति साब्रवीत् ॥ २७ ॥

कृष्याद्युपायस्तीर्थप्राप्त्यर्थोऽर्थस्त्वर्जनात्मकः ।
अनुत्तरसुखस्पर्शः कामः स्त्रीपुंसयोरिति ॥ २८ ॥

तान्निशम्यासजत्तस्यां मूढात्मा तद्गृहं गतः ।
तया समाजमन्येद्युः स निन्ये नृपसन्निधौ ॥ २९ ॥

जिताहमनया दास्यमभ्युपेतामिति प्रभुम् ।
प्रणनामापरा सापि स्तुता जनतया ययौ ॥ ३० ॥

तमृषिं पुनरि(त्यूचे स्वार्थः) कर्तव्य इत्यसौ ।
प्रिये ! किमेतदित्युक्ता सा तत्कारणभ्यधात् ॥ ३१ ॥

यया पराजितं तस्मिन् भवदावर्जनं प्रति ।
पणबन्धस्तया (मेऽभूत् कृतार्था त्वत्प्रसादतः) ॥ ३२ ॥

तच्छ्रुत्वा जातवैराग्यः शून्यमेव न्यवर्तत ।
सोऽहमस्मि क्षणेन स्यां त्वदर्थार्पादनक्षमः ॥ ३३ ॥

अस्यां वसाङ्गपुर्यामित्यथास्तमगमद् रविः ।
(नीत्वा निशां सहानेन नगरायोदचालिषम्) ॥ ३४ ॥

बहिर्विहारमासीनमाधिक्षीणमरूपिणम् ।
ऐक्षे क्षपणकं पृष्टः शोकहेतुमशिश्रवत् ॥ ३५ ॥

श्रेष्ठिपुत्रोऽहमत्राढ्यो विरूप इति (कीर्तितः ।
अन्यः सुन्दर)को नाम विश्रुतः कान्तिमानभूत् ॥ ३६ ॥

तयोर्नौ वसुरूपोत्थस्पर्धयोः पौरधान्त्रकाः ।
प्रकृष्टगणिकाप्रार्थ्यः श्लाघतामित्यकल्पयत् ॥ ३७ ॥

(मां पुनर्गे)णिकारत्नं चकमे काममञ्जरी ।
तया स्वायत्तसर्वस्वस्त्यक्तः कौपीनमात्रकः ॥ ३८ ॥

लोकापहासलक्षत्वं प्रपन्नो जैनवर्त्मनि ।
अवतीर्णोऽस्मि सौकर्यात्तस्मिन् दुःसहयन्त्रणः ॥ ३९ ॥

श्रुतिवर्त्मापवादेन प्रवृद्धानुशयः स्वयम् ।
एकान्तमेत्य शोचामीत्याकर्ण्याहमभाणिषम् ॥ ४० ॥

मा विषादीर्निजैर्द्युम्नैर्योजयामीति तां पुरीम् ।
आविशन्नक्षधूर्तानामपश्यं केलिकौशलम् ॥ ४१ ॥

क्वचित् प्रमादविन्यस्तशारके हसितं मया ।
किं त्वं शिक्षयसि द्यूतं देविष्यामि त्वयेति माम् ॥ ४२ ॥

अभिधायेतरः क्रोधाद् व्यतिषज्य जितो मया ।
समिकाय समर्प्याहं जितद्रव्यार्धमुत्थितः ॥ ४३ ॥

विमर्दकः सुहृन्मेऽभूद् यन्मूलं द्यूतमापतत् ।
ततो यथावदश्रौषमाढ्यलुब्धजनं पुरम् । ४४ ॥

तस्करत्वेन लुप्त्वा तान् कृत्यवर्त्म प्रवर्तयन् ।
गाढे तमसि गूढात्मा लुब्धागारमचोरयम् ॥ ४५ ॥

निर्गत्य नृपमार्गे मां विलोक्य व्यथितां स्त्रियम् ।
दृष्ट्वा क्व यासि कासीति ब्रुवाणं भणति स्म सा ॥ ४६ ॥

आर्य ! कन्यास्मि पुर्यस्यां नाम्नाहं कुलपालिका ।
धनमित्राय पित्राहं जातमात्रा प्र(ति)श्रुता ॥ ४७ ॥

अर्थिसा)त्कृतसर्वस्वं तमनादृत्य दुर्विधम् ।
अद्यार्थपतये नाम प्रदित्सति पिता तु माम् ॥ ४८ ॥

तदमङ्गलमप्राप्य श्वो भावीति निशि (स्वयम् ।
यामि प्रियतमागारम)थैनां दययान्वयाम् ॥ ४९ ॥

ततोऽहं रक्षिसंपाते सर्पदष्ट इवापतम् ।
सा कन्या मन्नियोगान्मे भार्या भूत्वाश्रुमुख्यभूत् ॥ ५० ॥

मुद्रादिभिरुपक्रम्य काल..... ।
.....प्रायां प्रोत्थायाहं सहानया ॥ ५१ ॥